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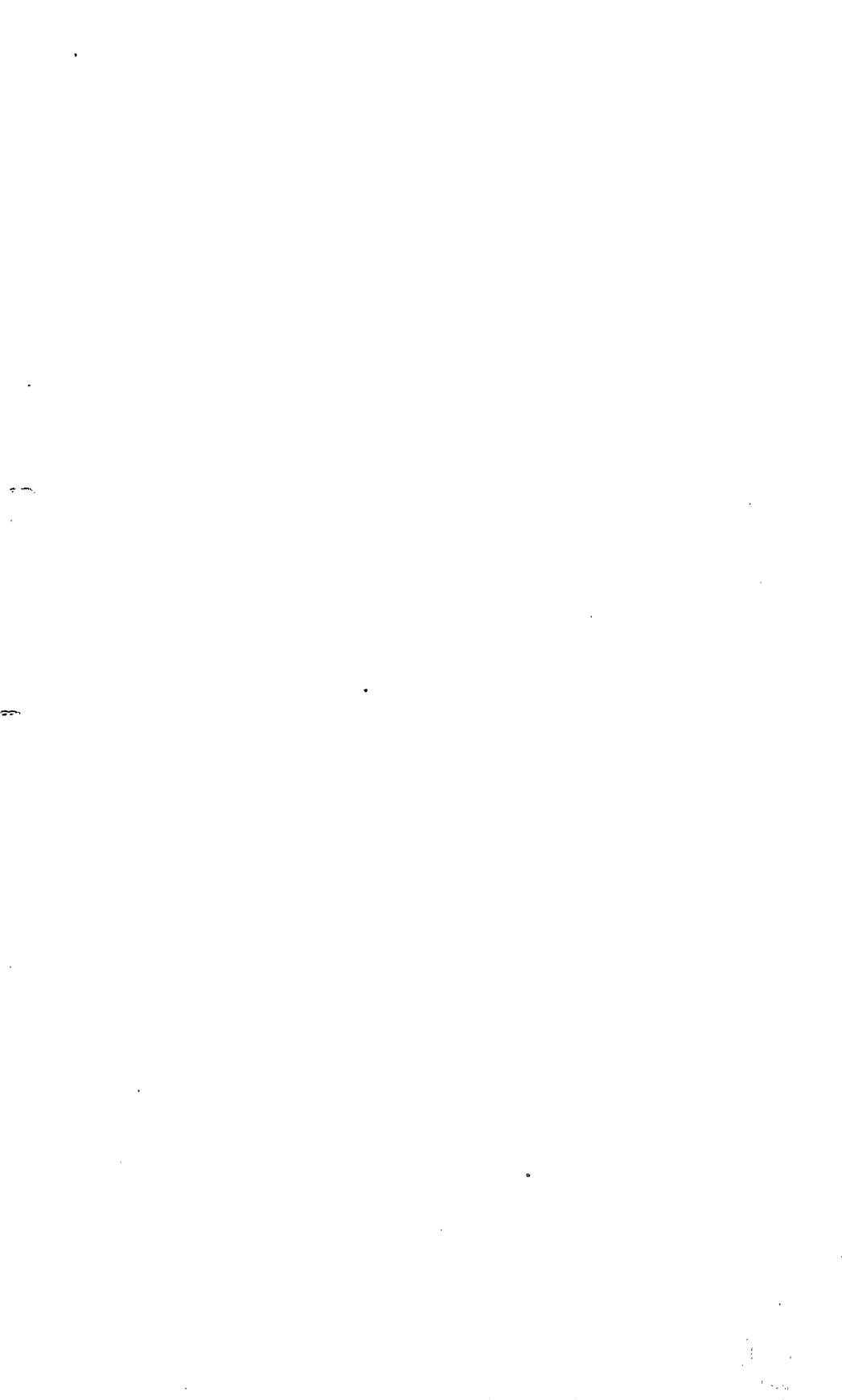
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JOURNAL

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

EDITED BY

24539

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891.05

J. A. O. S.

TWENTY-SEVENTH VOLUME.

SECOND HALF.

A330

THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, U. S. A.

MCMVII

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[This volume is for July-December, 1906. Issued March 12, 1907, in an edition of 500 copies.]

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JOURNAL

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

A Distinguished Family of Fatimide Ādis (al-Nu'mān) in the Tenth Century.—By RICHARD GOTTHEIL, Professor in Columbia University, New York City.

I. INTRODUCTION.

IN the whole of Mohammedan history there are few epochs quite as interesting as that during which the Shī'a propaganda manifested itself politically in Egypt, maintaining there for more than 200 years a kingdom which was a center of commercial and literary activity. The religious side of this propaganda was kept alive by the usual Alid tergiversations, and from out of this upbuilding came much of the turmoil in which Druse and Ismailian pretensions were hatched.

It seems to have been a somewhat simple matter for the people of Egypt to pass from one system to another. They were willing to take their religion as it was given to them, and at no time do they seem to have thought with Goethe :

“ Was du ererbt von deinen Vätern hast,
Erwirb es, um es zu besitzen.”

In spite of the large Coptic element in the population,¹ it had not been too difficult a task to impress the faith of the prophet upon the land of the Pharaohs. Egypt is the classic home of the corvée ; and, whether used by an old Pharaoh in dragging his statue to the place of its permanent situation, or by 'Amr ibn

¹ This has been excellently set forth in Butler's *Arabic Conquest of Egypt*, Oxford, 1902.

al-‘Āsī in re-cutting the canal that once joined lower Egypt to the Red Sea, or by Ismail Pasha in helping the French to build a Suez Canal, it shows a more than ordinary apathy on the part of the inhabitants, and a singular willingness to acquiesce quietly in the stings and goads of fortune. In the same manner, it does not seem to have been too difficult for them to pass from the Sunnite faith to the Shī‘ite (if faith it may be called), when Jauhar al-Kā‘id conquered the country in 969 for his master al-Mu‘izz; and they were as ready to fall back again upon the Sunna when the Kurd Saladin, in September, 1171, caused the Khuṭbah to be pronounced in the name of the Abbāsīd caliph, al-Mustaḍī.

One reason for the ease with which these changes were effected must be found in the small difference it made to the people at large whether in the official utterances Ali was blessed or cursed. That was food for the theologians and a tid-bit for the jurists. The lower classes had to live their every-day and humdrum life as they had done in the past; and the differences between Sunnite and Shī‘ite actual practice seems to have been small—to us they appear infinitesimal.¹ The geographical writer al-Mukaddasī has an interesting passage on the observances peculiar to the Fatimides.² He says: “There are three classes of Fatimide peculiarities. The first is one in which the (orthodox) Imams were also divided, as the long inserted or supererogatory prayer³ at the morning devotions and the audible recitation of

¹ This is due to the fact that the Shī‘a system was developed at a time when the other and canonical legal systems were already in existence. Both the Sunna and the Shī‘a, as regards their religious practices, are built up from one and the same basis. See Von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, vol. i, p. 501; id. *Herrschende Ideen*, p. 389.

² In de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, vol. iii, p. 287. 10. On the *مذهب أهل البيت* see Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳāddamāt* (ed. Beirut, 1886), p. 390. A list of works on Shī‘a Fikḥ is given by al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p. 219. On some other and equally minor points of difference, see the end of the poem by Dā‘ūd ibn ‘Umar al Baṣīr al-Anṭākī in his *كتاب تزيين الاسواق* published by Goldziher, *Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte der Šī‘a in Sitz. Ber. der Wiener Akad.*, vol. lxxviii, p. 520, and compare Tornauw, *Le Droit Musulman*, Paris, 1860, p. 24.

³ De Sacy (*Chrestomathie Arabe*, vol. i, p. 162), says that the *قنوت* is the prayer containing the formula *اَنَا لَكَ قَانُتُون*; but see the tradition

the basmallāh,¹ the *witr*² which goes with the rak'as, and the like. Their second peculiarity is to return to some of the observances of former generations, as the double repetition of the

cited in Lane, col. 2566 *افضل الصلوات طول القنوت* and al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Krehl, vol. i, p. 204, s.v. *باب القنوت*; al-Shirāzi, *al-Tanbīh*, (ed. A. W. T. Juynboll, Leiden, 1879), p. 24. 21; al-Sharānī, *Kashf al-Ghumma*, Cairo, 1281, vol. i, p. 85. It is evident that the *قنوت* is a sort of supererogatory prayer (the Mohammadans call such *يقنوت بعد الرفع من الركوع*) inserted between the rak'as (نوافل).

The silent prayer between the rak'as is called *دعاء* (Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, vol. ii, p. 252). A. Querry, *Droit Musulman*, vol. i, p. 81, calls it "le recueillement," while Tornauw (*l. c.*, p. 57) explains it thus: "le Kenut, qui consiste à élever les bras après l'accomplissement des pratiques mukerrenot et à répéter des interjections fervantes. Le Kenut n'est point obligatoire." See, also, Hughes, *Dictionary of Islām*, pp. 101. 1; 482. 2. Curiously enough, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Khulwārazmī in his *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm* (ed. Van Vloten, 1895), p. 11, says *القنوت دعاء الوتر*!

¹ See the traditions on this point in al-Bukhārī, vol. i, pp. 197, 198, 201, and al-Nawāwī, as cited by Goldziher, *Beiträge*, pp. 457, 522, and in Ibn Sa'd, vol. v. (Leiden, 1905) p. 266 (when Mohammed recited the first Sura he was not heard to add the basmallah. Asked about this, he answered: *لو اسررتها لجهرت بها*). Until the year 253 A. H. the basmallah was recited aloud in Fustāt; then a change was made; but al-Jauhar reintroduced the older practice in 362 A. H.; see de Sacy, *l. c.*, vol. i, p. 102. The Shāfi'ite practice was in this respect, as in so many others, in consonance with that of the Shī'a. See the quotation from Abu-l-Fidā on p. 220, n. 3; and Abū al Naḳīb al-Tunturī *مختصر الحواصی*

(Kazan, 1899), p. 11. Al-Zamakhsharī (*al-Kashshāf*, ed. Lees, vol. i, p. 5), has an interesting note upon the different usage in this respect. According to him, the difference depended upon the question whether the basmallah was or was not an integral part of the Sura: the "readers" (قراء) of Medina, Baṣra and Damascus held that it was not, and therefore did not read it aloud when it occurred in a prayer (ولذلك لا يجهر) (بها عندهم في الصلوة); but those of Mecca and Kufa did. See, also, al-Baiḍāwī, vol. i, p. 3.

² The *وتر* is a prayer accompanied by an uneven number of rak'as—from one up to eleven. See al-Shirāzi, *al-Tanbīh*, p. 27. 5.

ikāma which the Banū Umayya had reduced to one ;¹ the wearing of white, which the Banū al-'Abbās had changed to black.² The third peculiarity is to follow such customs as the Imāms had indeed not prohibited, though they had not been known before this time : e. g., to use the expression **حَيَّ عَلَى الصَّلَاةِ** "Come to prayer !" in the adhān ;³ to celebrate that day as the first of the month on which the new moon is sighted ;⁴ and to accompany the prayer said at an eclipse with five rak'as and two sujūds to every rak'a."

The religious and juridic rite originally followed by the Mohammedans in Egypt had been that of Mālik ibn Anas ;

¹ The **اقامة** is the call to prayer which immediately follows the **اذان**. See Dozy, vol. ii, p. 424 ; Tornauw, *Le Droit Musulman*, p. 57 : "Après le azon on prononce l'ekomeh. Ce sont les mêmes paroles: Allah Akber—seulement dans l'ekomeh on ne jette l'exclamation que deux fois, tandis qu'on la répète quatre fois dans l'azon." A. Querry, *Droit Musulman*, vol. i, p. 66.

² See the material upon the various colors affected by different Muhammadan parties which I have collected in ZA., vol. xiii, p. 194, note 1, and vol. xiv, p. 223, note 7. The change to white dress was immediately introduced upon al-Jauhar's gaining possession of the mosque of 'Amr (**الجامع العتيق**) in Fostat. See Stanley Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt*, p. 103 and the following note.

³ According to Abu-l-Fidā the expression was **حَيَّ عَلَى خَيْرِ الْعَمَلِ** ; He says (vol. ii, p. 498) **وَفِي جُمَادَى الْأُولَى مِنْ سَنَةِ تِسْعٍ وَخَمْسِينَ** **وَثَلَاثُمِائَةٍ قَدِمَ جَوْهَرُ إِلَى جَامِعِ ابْنِ طُولُونَ وَأَمَرَ بِأَذْنٍ فِيهِ بِحَيَّ عَلَى خَيْرِ الْعَمَلِ. ثُمَّ أَذِنَ بَعْدَهُ فِي الْجَامِعِ الْعَتِيقِ بِذَلِكَ فَجَهَرَ فِي الصَّلَاةِ بِبِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ**. The same account is found in *Ibn Sa'd*, ed. Tallqvist, p. 77. See, also, JA. 1886, 3, p. 57, *Ibn Khallikān*, vol. i, p. 344, and *Ibn Khaldūn*, *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, vol. iv, p. 38 : and especially al-Makrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, vol. ii, pp. 340, 342, and the full account, *ib.* p. 269.

⁴ See de Sacy, *Chrestomathie Arabe*, vol. i, p. 161.

⁵ On the Sunnite practice, see al-Bukhārī, l. c., vol. i, pp. 197 and 198, and Muhammad ibn 'Alī Ṣiddīq Ḥasan **فتح العلام لشرح بلوغ** **المرام**, vol. i, p. 231. On the different customs, see al-Sha'rānī, *Kitāb al-Mizān*, vol. i, p. 173.

but when in 813 Muḥammad al-Shāfi'ī came to settle definitely in Fostāt, his legal doctrines commenced to gain prevalence¹ and they remained prevalent until in the 16th century the Turks introduced the Hanafite system.² Upon the arrival of al-Mu'izz, it was natural that this should be changed. But the Fatimides seem to have been rather large-minded in this respect, if not in others.³ They were sufficiently latitudinarian to allow all the four forms of Mohammedan canon law to be taught in the schools and to be used by the adherents of different parties.⁴ From the time of al-Mustansir on, we read of Shāfi'ite doctors being appointed to the chief cadiship.⁵ Al-Mu'izz himself seems to have gone slowly in forcing upon the country Shī'ite practices. The cadi whom he found in office, 'Abū Ṭāhir, received permission to continue his functions. Probably he fitted himself conveniently into the changed circumstances; for it is related that he came to Alexandria and greeted the new caliph in a somewhat ostentatious manner. Al-Makrīzī is quite explicit in his statement that Shī'ite law was first taught in Cairo by the son of the Fatimide cadi whom al-Mu'izz had brought with him. "Fatimide law," he says, "according to Shī'ite doctrine was first taught at the Azhar in Ṣafar 365 (975), when 'Alī Ibn al-Nu'mān, the cadi, sat in the Cairo mosque known as the Azhar and dictated a compendium of law composed by his father for the Shī'ites."⁶ This work was called al-Ikṭisār.⁷

¹ al-Makrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, vol. ii, p. 334.

² See Snouck-Hurgronje in ZDMG., vol. liii, p. 134.

³ See Guyard in JA., 1877, 1, p. 335.

⁴ In the year 425 A.H. four cadis were appointed: An Imāmī, an Isma'īlī, a Malikite and a Shāfi'ite. See al-Makrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, vol. ii, p. 343 et seq.

⁵ The Shī'a naturally looked with more favour upon the Shāfi'ite system, because of the position the latter took in regard to the use of قياس. See Goldziher, *Beiträge*, pp. 485, 500.

⁶ أهل البيت, a favorite designation with which the Shī'a glorified its political leaders. They, therefore, speak of the سنة أهل البيت, see Goldziher in ZDMG., vol. xxxvi, p. 279.

⁷ I have the quotation from Muṣṭafa Bairam's رسالة on the Azhar Mosque (Cairo, 1321 A. H.), p. 23. [See *al-Khīṭaṭ*, vol. ii, p. 341.] The title of this work is said by Ibn Khallikān (vol. iii, p. 565) to have been 'al-Intisār;' see further on p. 228.

Ya'kūb ibn Killis (the renegade Jew and the first Fatimide vizier¹) went further than did his master. During the reign of al-'Azīz, the son of al-Mu'izz, the Caliph compelled—as al-Makrīzī also tells us—all the poets, philosophers, and learned men to come to his house and listen to the exposition of a little book that Ibn Killis had put together containing whatever of Ismaili canon law he had heard from al-Mu'izz and al-'Azīz. On Tuesdays and on Fridays he was accustomed to hold a special levee, at which he expounded Fatimide theories. The caliph made attendance at these levees compulsory upon the learned men and the doctors; a special building being erected for that purpose next to the Azhar. During the reign of al-Ḥākim, the people were in such dread of their ruler that they joined the Shī'a in large numbers and 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Nu'mān had to hold daily sessions, at which the initiated were received.² The theologians had evidently gained the upper hand; and how stringent the spirit was liable to become may be seen from the fact that in the year 381 (991) a man was actually driven from the city because a copy of Mālik's al-Muwatta' had been found in his possession.³ In the year 380 (990) a special Jāmi'—called al-Jāmi' al-Ḥākimī was erected for the benefit of the Shī'a propaganda; but it was not finished until the year 403 (1012).⁴

As all Mohammedan law is really canonical law, the commander of the ship of state had to depend very largely upon his steersman at the helm. That steersman was usually and naturally the *cadi*, and the *cadi* at first had a position second only to that of the caliph himself. If al-Makrīzī is to be credited, al-Mu'izz had no vizier at all; and the duty of spreading Shī'a doctrine and of consolidating Shī'a practices devolved upon the *cadi*. The position that he held was therefore an important one; and, in addition, at times the superintendency of the mint and of the bureau of weights and measures was also in his hands. After a while the *cadi* also became the chief

¹ al-Makrīzī in *Jamaleddinni Togri-Bardii Annales*, ed. J. E. Carlyle (Cantab. 1792), Notes, p. 5.

² De Sacy, *Les Druses*, p. ccxi.

³ Muṣṭafa Bairam, l. c., p. 23, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. ii, p. 341.

⁴ al-Makrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, vol. ii, p. 277; Van Berchem, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, p. 50.

preacher.¹ The holders of the office must therefore have been men of some significance, and their history is closely intertwined with that of the country itself. August Müller, in speaking of the Barmecides, and the services that they rendered to the Abbāsid caliphate of Bagdad, calls attention to the fact that

¹ Upon the various functions attributed to the *cadi* in addition to the judgeship, see the instructive remarks of Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddamāt*, p. 193 below. Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Ḳalkashandī, in his work on the geography and administration of Egypt, (at least in the part translated by Wüstenfeld in *Abh. der Königl. Gesell. der Wiss.* Göttingen, 1879, p. 184) speaks only of the surveillance of the markets being at times in his hands. Happily, the whole of this informing work is in course of publication by the Khedivial Library in Cairo. The importance of the "Chief Preacher" in the Fatimide period is justly brought out by al-Maḳrīzī (*al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. i, p. 390; see, also, De Sacy, *l. c.*, vol. i, p. 140); upon him rested a good part of theonus to propagate Shī'a doctrines. Al-Ḳalkashandī seems to know nothing of the union of the offices of *القضاة* and *داعي الدعاة*: but al-Maḳrīzī has the following:

ويكون في بعض الاوقات داعيا فيقال له حينئذ فاضى القضاة ويكون في بعض الاوقات داعيا فيقال له حينئذ فاضى القضاة. Theoretically, it was the vizier to whom the functions of the *cadi* belonged (see Māwardī, *Constitutiones politicae*, ed. R. Enger, Bonn 1853, p. 39, 1); if he was unwilling to exercise the functions he could appoint deputies. This must be the meaning of al-Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, vol. i, p. 408):

وكان من عادة الدولة انه اذا كان وزير. But historically, the union of the two offices (viziership and cadiship) occurred only in a few cases; al-Ḳalkashandī, in his account of the *wazīr* (*l. c.*, p. 181) knows nothing of it. Aḥmad ibn Sa'd al-Dīn al-Ghumrī in his *ذخيرة الاعلام* (Paris Ms. 1850) mentions the cases of Aḥmad ibn Zakariyā and Ibrāhīm ibn Kudaina. Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Iyās recalls that al-Yāzūrī, at the time of the Fatimid al-Mustangīr, filled both offices:

خلع على القاضي ابو محمد الحسن بن علي اليازوري واستقر به بدائع الزهور) به وزيراً وقاضى قضا الشافعية (Paris Ms. 1822).

According to al-Shirāzī, the ultimate authority in the appointing of a *cadi* was vested in the spiritual or virtual head of the community:

ولا يصح القضاء الا بتولية الامام او من فوض اليه الامام (l. c., p. 813, 3).

for more than fifty years this family was in the service of the state. He adds: "Das ist meines Wissens sonst überhaupt nicht und anderswo selten genug dagewesen." It is therefore not without interest to see that in the early years of the Fatimides, and for a term covering more than eighty years, the office of *cadi* was held (with periods of intermission) by members of one and the same family, named *al-Nu'mān*; and I have tried in the following paper to reconstruct the history of this family from both printed and manuscript sources.

In addition to the individual biographies of *cadis* in such dictionaries as that of *Ibn Khallikān* and its continuation by *Muḥammad Ibn Shākir al-Kutubi*,² the history of the *cadis* in the chief Islamic centers formed a special branch of Mohammedan biographical science. In his chapter on *ʿIlm al-Taʾrīkh*,³ *Hājī Khalīfa* divides this science into the following categories: 1, the general history of the *cadis*; 2, the history of the *cadis* of Egypt; 3, the history of the *cadis* of Bagdad; 4, the history of the *cadis* of Baṣra; 5, the history of the *cadis* of Cordova; and 6, the history of the *cadis* of Damascus.

The history of the Egyptian *cadis* seems first to have been written by *Abū ʿUmar Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Yaʿqūb al-Kindī* down to the year 246 A. H. (860).⁴ This was continued by *Abū Muḥammad Ḥasan ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Zūlāk*, who carried it down to and through the biography of *Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān* (386 A. H., i. e. 996). *Hājī Khalīfa* says that an appendix to this work of *Ibn Zūlāk* was written by *Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar*⁵ up to the year 852 A. H. (1448) under the title

¹ *Der Islam*, vol. 1, p. 465.

² *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, Būlāk, 1288 and 1289 A. H.

³ Ed. Flügel, vol. ii, p. 97.

⁴ A Ms. of this work is in the British Museum; see de Goeje in ZDMG. vol. 1, p. 741. *Al-Kindī's كتاب مصر وفضائلها* was published in 1896 by J. Østrupp, (*Bulletin de l'Académie Royale*, Copenhagen, 1896, No. 4), who has made it probable that this little tract of *Abū ʿUmar* was published by his son *ʿUmar al-Kindī*.

⁵ *Abū-l-Faḍl Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥajar* was born in Ascalon (al-ʿAsḳalānī) in 1372 and officiated as Chief *Cadi* in Cairo from 1424 to 1449. This will explain his interest in the history of his predecessors in office. He was a most fruitful writer on *ḥadīth*, and biography—as well as something of a poet. See a list of his works in

رفع الإصر في قضاة مصر. This work of Ibn Ḥajar seems to be more than a mere appendix. It is really a biographical dictionary, arranged in alphabetical order, and probably contains all the data to be found in the preceding works.¹ The *Rafʿ al-Isr* was continued by the author's pupil, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhawī, who entitled his work *بغية العلماء والرواة* (That which is desired in regard to the, etc.).² It seems a pity that the work of Ibn Zūlāk has not come down to us; al-Siyūṭī and Ibn Khallikān evidently made use of it, as they cite it several times.³ Nor has Ibn Zūlāk's other work, *تاريخ مصر وفضائلها*, shared a better fate. I can not believe that the Paris Ms. 1817⁴ is really the work of so

Brockelmann, *Gesch. der Arab. Lit.*, vol. ii, p. 67. A very full account of the literary activity of Ibn Ḥajar can be found in his biography written by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Shaḥawī (Ms. Paris, No. 2105, fol. 191 b. et seq.—a voluminous work). Cf. also Quatremère, *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks*, vol. i, 2, pp. 209 et seq.

¹ Those portions which deal with the family al-Nu'mān will be found below, both in text and in translation based upon the Paris Ms. No. 2149. A second (and more correct) Ms. has lately been added to the same collection from the library of the late Ch. Schefer. It is numbered 5893. No. 2152 of the same collection, containing *النجوم الزاهرة بتلخيص* *النجوم الزاهرة* *بإخبار قضاة مصر والقاهرة* by Ibn Ḥajar's grandson, Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Shāḥīn, is practically identical with the work of Ibn Ḥajar; despite the author's remarks in the preface that his grandfather's work was incomplete because death prevented him from making a thorough revision. The two Mss. of Ibn Shāḥīn that I have examined (Paris 2152 and Berlin 9819) are very similar and are evidently of the same *provenance*. They are very correct, the Paris Ms. having been revised by the author; though they are difficult of use for text-critical purposes, as the diacritical points are wanting for the most part and the script is minute.

² A *mukhtaṣar* of this was composed by 'Alī ibn al-Luṭf al-Shāfi'. See Ḥajjī Khalifa, vol. iii, p. 473; vol. iv, p. 561.

³ See, also, Carl H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens*, i, p. 14.

⁴ *تاريخ مصر وفضائلها لابن زولان*. On Ibn Zūlāk see Ibn Khal-

Ḥikān (de Slane's translation) vol. i, p. 388—who mentions only his topographical description of Egypt and his history of the Egyptian cadis. The latter, it is known, was merely a continuation of a work with the same title by al-Kindī.

important an authority as Ibn Zūlāk seems to have been. It is hardly of more worth than Ms. 1816 of the same library, and of which the compilers of the catalogue very properly say "cet opuscule ne renferme que des fables."¹ I may also mention Ms. 1819, which the catalogue describes as identical with Ms. 1817.²

At a later date Aḥmad ibn Sa'd al-Dīn al-Ghumrī al-Shāfi'ī wrote a history of Egypt down to the year 1640 in double *rajaz* verses, with the dates given in the form of chronograms.³ To this he appended a list of the cadis. To write such and many other things in verse was often an affectation of an Arab writer. Even before the time of al-Ghumrī, a similar thing had been done by one Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Dāniyāl al-Maṣṣilī al-Khuzā'i (died November, 1310), an oculist in Cairo, dealing specifically with the cadis of Egypt in ninety-nine verses of a like kind⁴; to which al-Siyūṭī added those who had officiated from the time of Badr al-Jamā'a up to his own day (1481).⁵ Probably more important than these works must have been a history of Egypt written by Muḥammad ibn Abi-

¹ Catalogue, p. 330. كُتَابُ فَضَائِلِ مِصْرَ وَأَخْبَارِهَا وَخَوَاصِّهَا.

² جَوَاهِرُ الْبُكُورِ وَوَقَائِعُ الْأُمُورِ وَعَجَائِبُ الدَّهْوَرِ وَأَخْبَارُ الدِّيَارِ الْمِصْرِيَّةِ. Another Ms. of this work is described in Flügel, *Die arabischen . . . Handschriften der k. k. Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, vol. ii, p. 148. See, also, Blochet in *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, vol. vi, p. 460. A renewed examination of Paris Mss. 1816, 1817, 1818, 1819 and 1820 has convinced me that not one of them can really claim to be the work of Ibn Zūlāk. Nos. 1817, 1818, 1819 and 1820 exhibit practically one and the same text; 1817 and 1819 going back to one and the same Ms. As these discuss events as far down as the Ottoman invasion, it is impossible that 1817 is by Ibn Zūlāk. Nos. 1816 and 1818 are for a great part merely a shorter and a longer recension of one and the same treatise. No. 1816, fol. 45b mentions the *'Ukūd al-Duriyya* of al-Jazzār, who died in 1281 A.D.! I hope to return to Ibn Zūlāk upon another occasion.

³ Brockelmann, *l. c.*, vol. ii, p. 297. There are some 9,000 verses in the Berlin Ms. of this work. See Ahlwardt's Catalogue, No. 9831. I have given, further on, that portion which deals with the al-Nu'mān family, taken from Paris Ms. No. 1850.

⁴ Brockelmann, *l. c.*, vol. ii, p. 8. They form the basis for Ibn Ḥajar's *Raf' al-Iṣr*, and are there cited in full.

⁵ Both are printed in al-Siyūṭī's *Ḥuṣn al-Muḥādara* (Cairo, 1321), vol. ii, pp. 117-121.

l-Kāsim 'Ubaid Allāh ibn Aḥmad al-Musabbihī (976-1029).¹ This work, entitled *كتاب اخبار مصر وفضائلها* is said to have comprised some 26,000 pages, and is frequently quoted as one of the best authorities; but only an occasional part has remained to testify to its worth. There are, of course, plentiful notices about the Egyptian cadis in the monumental work of al-Makrīzī (1364-1442; *al-Khitāt*); and al-Siyūnī in his *Ḥuṣṣ al-Muḥāḍara* has a special chapter, headed *ذكر قضاة مصر*.² The material for this present study has been gotten chiefly from the dictionary of the Egyptian cadis by Ibn Ḥajar, from the biographical dictionary of Ibn Khallikān, from the *Khitāt* of al-Makrīzī, and from the short notices on the family to be found in Ibn Khaldūn's *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, vol. iv (p. 55). Ibn Khallikān and Ibn Ḥajar have evidently used very much the same sources—Ibn Zūlāk and al-Musabbihī.

II. THE FAMILY OF AL-NU'MĀN.

Kāfūr the Irshīd had placed Abū Tāhir Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abdallāh al-Baghdādī al-Dihlī al-Mālikī in office as cadi during the year 348 A.H. He remained cadi, some say for sixteen, others for eighteen years. When al-Mu'izz came to Egypt on Sha'bān 23, 362 (May 29, 973), he brought with him his own cadi, al-Nu'mān.³ The father of al-Nu'mān, Abū

¹ His biography is given in Tallqvist, *Fragmente des Ibn Sa'd*, pp. 96-99; 102-104; Ibn Khallikān (transl.) vol. iii, p. 87. He lived 976-1029. See, also, Becker, *l. c.*, i, pp. 16, 32 et al. It is well known that the name is often found in Mss. as *المسيحي*. For the correct pronunciation, in addition to the authorities quoted by Becker, *l. c.*, p. 16, note 3, see Ibn Khallikān, vol. iii, p. 90, and al-Dhahabī, *al-Mushtabih*, ed. P. de Jong., 1881 p. ٢٨٣.

² Ed. Cairo, 1321 A.H., vol. ii, p. 95.

³ According to Abu-l-Mahāsīn (vol. ii, p. 488) al-Nu'mān was originally a follower of the Ḥanīfite School. النعمان بن محمد ابو الحنيفة البغري الباطني قاضي مملكة البعز وكان حنفي المذهب لأن العرب كان يوم ذاك غالبية حنفيّة الى ان حمل الناس على مذهب مالك فقط. He is here designated as belonging to the Bāṭiniyya; which, I believe, is merely the equivalent of the ordinary term.

Hanifa, was himself a well-known littérateur, who had died at the advanced age of 104. Al-Nu'mān had acted as cadi to the army of the Fatimides on its journey from the land of the Berbers; but Abū Tāhir came to Alexandria to meet al-Mu'izz, and seems to have pleased al-Mu'izz so much that he was allowed to continue in office.¹ Ibn Nu'mān had thus little to do; but occasionally he was called upon to revise the judgments given by Abū Tāhir. One of these cases must have occurred in the year 974, for he died before the case was concluded, either on Rajab 1, or on the last day of Jumāda 363 A.H.² Al-Nu'mān seems to have been a learned jurist. At first an adherent of the school of Mālik, at a later time he adapted himself to the Shī'a teachings of his master, al-Mu'izz. To his first period belongs a work *كتاب اختلاف اصول المذاهب* dealing with the different principles upon which the various schools founded their systems. He then became an ardent Fatimide, and placed his pen in its service, writing a work *اختلاف الفقهاء* upon the differences between the jurists, in which he defended the Shī'a claims. To the same class belongs his *كتاب ابتداء الدعوة* an account of the first preaching of Fatimide doctrines. Two further juridic works written by him are mentioned: *كتاب الانتصار* and *كتاب الاخبار* (The Triumph or Vindicator); but to what subject they refer, we do not know; and a poetic piece *المنتخب* (Choice Selection). Only one of his writings

اسماعيلى. Al-Shahrestānī, *al-Milalw-al-Nihāl*, ed. Cureton, p. 147 : الباطنية . . . وهم يقولون نحن اسماعيلية ; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Khuwārazmī *مفاتيح العلوم* (ed. G. Van Vloten) 1895, p. 31 : الاسماعيليه وهم الباطنية .

¹ Ibn Khallikān, vol. iii, p. 379 : *Ḥuṣn*, vol. ii, p. 101.

² See the case cited by Ibn Ḥajar. According to the latter, this occurred on the 25th day of the month: but the name of the month is not given.

³ Or, perhaps more correctly ; *كتاب افتتاح الدعوة الظاهرة* as given by al-Maḥrīzī in his *كتاب المقفا*. A small extract from this work is given by Quatremère in JA. 1836, ii, p. 123. See, also, Brockelmann, *l. c.* vol. 1, p. 188.

on law seems to have been spared شرح الاخبار في فضائل النبي on the excellency of the prophet and the claims of Ali, which may be the كتاب الاخبار mentioned above;¹ while of his three polemical work against Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik, al-Shāfiʿī and al-Surajj,² one may be the كتاب الانتصار. He is also said to have written a work on the "meritorious and disgraceful acts (committed by the Arabian tribes)." He is praised by Ibn Zūlāk for his knowledge of the Koran, of Arabic poetry, philology, pre-Islamic history, and jurisprudence. He left several sons, two of whom followed him in the office of cadī.

Abū Ṭāhir was evidently growing old, and al-Muʿizz gave him as assistant or associate the son of al-Nuʿmān, Abū al-Hasan ʿAlī. ʿAlī was born in Rajab 328 (940),³ probably in Mahdiyya, the city in which the dynasty took its rise. He officiated in the Jāmiʿ al-ʿAṭik in old Cairo, while Abū Ṭāhir had his own Majlis. When al-Muʿizz died, in 365 A. H. (975), his successor al-ʿAzīz confirmed the arrangement made by his father. In addition, Abū al-Ḥusain was appointed over the mint,⁴ an office often committed to the care of the cadī in those days, as well as over the two mosques, probably the one in Fostāt and the other in Cairo. This double authority could naturally not last long. A case is mentioned where Abū Ṭāhir imprisoned certain persons, who however appealed to ʿAlī and were set free. As age and disease crept over him, Abū Ṭāhir had to be carried about; and one day he met the caliph at the Bab al-Diyāfa⁵ and asked him to

¹ Berlin Ms. No. 9662, though this seems to contain only an extract from the larger work on "die Vorzüglichkeit des Profeten und die Berechtigung Ali's auf die Nachfolgerschaft."

² *Fihrist*, vol. 1, p. 213.

³ Ibn Khallikān, however, says Rabīʿ i. 329.

⁴ On the situation of the دار الضرب see al-Maḥrizī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. i, pp. 406, 445; Ravisce, *Essai sur l'histoire et sur la topographie du Caire*, p. 76; P. Casanova, *Histoire et Description de la Citadelle du Caire*, p. 720.

⁵ The *Bāb al-Diyāfa* must have been near to the citadel. There was a palace called *Dār al-Diyāfa*. See Casanova, *La citadelle du Caire* in the *Mémoires de la Mission archéologique française du Caire*, vol. vi, p. 738, and Ibn Iyās, كتاب تاريخ مصر (Bulāḥ 1311, A.H.), vol. i, pp.

147, 4; 310, 18. Ibn Khallikān says "near the *Dār al-Ṣanāʿa*" (al-Maḥrizī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. ii, p. 178).

appoint his son Abū al-‘Alā as his substitute. This favor was denied and after three days¹ he was deposed and the sole cadi-ship was given to Ali. It seems, however, that Ali’s power was at that time not quite complete. The friends and patrons of Abū Tāhīr interceded for him, and he continued his functions in his own house, perhaps revising the judgments given in other courts. Ali was now publicly invested in the two mosques; in that of old Cairo it was his own brother Mohammed who read out his diploma. His appointment was complete not only over all Egypt, but over those countries also subject to the Egyptian Caliph. In addition he was appointed chief preacher, inspector of gold and silver, and controller of weights and measures. Ali, himself, soon needed assistance. His brother Mohammed was appointed to be his deputy in Tinnīs, Damietta and Faramā; while a second deputy was added in the person of al-Ḥasan ibn Ḥalīl. The latter was a follower of al-Shāfi‘ī; but a special order was given him to decide according to the Shī‘a rite.²

In the year 367³ the caliph al-‘Azīz was called to Syria to quell the revolt of the Carmathians, whom his lieutenant, Jauhar, had been unable to hold in check. He took his cadi, Ali, with him, and Ali’s brother Mohammed was appointed his substitute during his absence. Some enemies spread the report that he had in reality been superseded; and from where he was with the army he was forced to send word to the prefect of police, Ḥasan ibn al-Kāsim, asking him to deny the rumor and to strengthen the hand of his brother. Ali was upon very friendly terms not only with al-‘Azīz, but also with his vizier, Jacob ibn Killis. It is said that he was the first to bear the title “Chief Cadi” in his diploma.⁴ Before his time the title had been granted only to the cadi at Bagdad. Ali died on

¹ Ibn Khallikān has “two days.”

² See supra, p. 218, note 2.

³ Not 368, as Ibn Hajar has. See Wüstenfeld, *Fatimiden Califen*, p. 138-9; de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahraïn* (Leiden, 1886), p. 192.

⁴ *Ḥuṣn*, vol. ii, p. 101. He seems to have been recognized as chief cadi, though the title was not given to him in his diploma. According to Ibn Khallikān (vol. iv, p. 273), the celebrated Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb al-Anṣārī, the author of the *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, was the first to have the title قاضي القضاة.

Rajab the 6, 374 (Dec. 3, 984). Al-'Azīz, who was in camp at al-Jubb, a plain near Cairo, where all sorts of assemblies popular and military were held,¹ came to the city, and himself said the prayers over the corpse, which was then buried in the Hamrā.² He was a well educated man, learned in jurisprudence, philology, polite literature and poetry.³ In fact, he was something of a poet himself, and a few of his verses are cited by al-Tha'ālībī in his *Yatīmat al-Dahr*, by Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bakharzī,⁴ and by Ibn Zūlāk.

Ali's brother, Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad, who had acted as his substitute while he was in Syria, was formally appointed cadī on Friday, Rajab 22, 374—the office having been vacant for 17 days on account of the sickness of the new cadī. Born in the Maghrib, various stories are told that as a boy he had been singled out by Al-Mu'izz for the position that he now occupied. He must have been a man of some abilities to have held so important a post. He was constitutionally weak-bodied and was compelled to ride about in a palanquin. In this manner he was carried to the camp of al-'Azīz for investiture; and he was even unable to be present when his son 'Abd al-'Azīz read out his diploma in the Jāmi' al-'Atīk at Fostāt. In this diploma he was appointed chief cadī over the whole of Egypt and the Syrian possessions of the Fatimides; he was also leader in prayer, inspector of gold and silver, and contröller of weights and measures as his brother had been. Not being able to attend to all his duties, he devolved some of them upon his nephew, Abū 'Abdallāh al-Ḥusain ibn 'Alī, who was to hear cases in the Jāmi' al-Ḥakīmī. At the suggestion of the caliph himself, he appointed his son, Abū al-Kāsim 'Abd al-'Azīz to be his representative in Alexandria. He stood high in favor with the government; his son, 'Abd al-'Azīz being married to the daughter of

¹ Really *Jubb 'Amīra*, Yāqūt, vol. ii, p. 18, 4: **وَجِبْ عَمِيرَةَ قَرِيبٍ مِنْ**

القاهرة يبرز اليه الحاج والعساكر. *A* **بركة الحب** is mentioned by al-Makrīzī. See de Sacy, *l. c.*, vol. i, p. 187.

² Yāqūt, vol. ii, p. 333, 3 says simply **والحمراء أيضا بفسطاط مصر**.

³ It is remarkable that Ibn Ḥajar has nothing to say about his literary attainments.

⁴ Brockelmann, *l. c.*, vol. i, p. 252.

Jauhar the Kā'id, at a levee held by the caliph himself (Friday, Jumāda 1, 375 = September 19, 985). It is even related that upon one occasion (Jan. 5, 996) he accompanied the caliph into the pulpit; and when al-'Azīz died in 386 A. H. (996) Muḥammad had the honor of washing his corpse.¹ This naturally excited the jealousy of the vizier Ibn Killis, who was afraid of the growing power of the al-Nu'mān family. Muḥammad, however, succeeded in maintaining his position even under al-Ḥākim, the successor of al-'Azīz; being high in the favor of the eunuch Barjawān, the tutor of the young prince. He was also quite intent to advance his own immediate family. In Jumāda 1, 377 (Sept. 7, 987) he removed his nephew Abū 'Abdallāh, to whom he had given over some of his functions, and placed in his stead his own son, 'Abd al-'Azīz, giving him authority to act as judge on Mondays and Thursdays. In Muḥarram 383 (Feb. 993), he increased the authority of 'Abd al-'Azīz by allowing his son to sit as judge on every day.

This power of the *cadi* was distasteful also to the theologians and the jurists; for he forced people to address him with the title سَيِّدْنَا, "Our lord."² Ibn Ḥajar seems to refer to some such dispute that occurred in the year 382. Muḥammad had appointed a certain Ja'far to publish the religious enactments in the Jāmi' according to the Meccan rite.³ To this the Fakīhs objected; but their objection was overruled in a summary manner.

On account of his physical weakness he was unable to attend to much of his work during his latter years. He is said to have been of fine appearance, noble in his bearing and a ready giver of alms. Ibn Zūlāk pays him the compliment of saying that he knew of no *cadi*, either in Egypt or in 'Irāk, who could be called his equal. Though learned in all the Moslem sciences,⁴

¹ When the Caliph al-'Azīz felt his end approaching, he recommended his son al-Ḥākim to Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān and to Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn Ammār, the Amīr al-Daula. See Ibn Khallikān, vol. iii, p. 528.

² On the use of this title, see Van Berchem, *l. c.*, pp. 385, 386.

³ I am not certain to what rite reference is made here—probably to that of the Zaidite sect. The Sharifs of Mecca afterwards went over to Shāfi'i practices. See Snouck-Hurgronje, *Mekka*, vol. ii, p. 251 f.

⁴ He lectured upon Shī'a law and doctrine. So many people crowded to hear him upon one occasion that a number were killed in the crush.

he left no work behind him ; but he followed the Arabic custom of writing poetry, a verse or two of which have been handed down. Al-Musabbihī, however, did not think much of his poetic talents. He died on Tuesday evening, Šafar the fourth, 389 (Jan. 25, 999), having been in office 14 years, 6 months and 10 days. Al-Hākim, himself, said the customary prayers over his body. He was buried at first in his own house and then on Ramadān the ninth (August) his corpse was transferred to the Karāfa cemetery.¹ His palace was given to one of the friends of al-Hākim, and all his possessions were sold in order to pay the money of orphans and minors that had been deposited with him.²

For some reason no chief cadī was immediately appointed to succeed Mohammed. According to Ibn Hajar, who follows al-Musabbihī,³ the interregnum lasted for seventeen days ; according to Ibn Khallikān for more than a month. On Šafar the 23,⁴ Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥusain, the son of ‘Alī, who had held

وفي ربيع الأول سنة : سنة
خمس وثمانين وثلثمائة جلس القاضي محمد بن النعمان على
كرسيّ بالقصر لقرأة علوم آل البيت على الرسم المعتاد المتقدم
له ولاخيه بمصر ولايبه بالمغرب فمات في الزحمة أحد عشر
رجلا فكفّنهم العزيز بالله (وعشرون) (*al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. i, p. 390,
top, and de Sacy, *l. c.*, vol. i, p. 139).

¹ To the south of Cairo. See Yāqūt, vol. iv, p. 48 ; al-Maḳrīzī. *Khiṭaṭ*, vol. ii, p. 443 ; Rieu, *Supplement to the Catalogue of Arabic Mss.*, p. 448 ; Van Berchem, *l. c.*, p. 26.

² It was customary to deposit in the chancellerie of the cadī moneys belonging to orphans or to persons who were absent. See Māwardī, *l. c.*, p. 118, in the chapter headed ولاية القضاء. Such moneys could not be loaned out ; though this was, of course, occasionally done under pressure. Al-Maḳrīzī relates one such incident in the life of Saladin. In the year 590 A.H. he needed money for one of his campaigns ; so he forced the cadī Zain al-Dīn to take 14,000 dinārs that were in his keeping and give them to him. See Blochet in *Revue de l'orient Latin*, vol. ix, p. 76.

³ He says expressly that al-Ḥusain was nominated on Šafar 27.

⁴ And not on Rabī‘ 6, as Ibn Khallikān says—who seems to know very little about this cadī.

partial office for a time under his uncle Mohammed, was appointed *cadi* by the all-powerful Barjawān. His diploma read that he was appointed to act for Cairo, Fostāṭ, Alexandria, Syria, Arabia, and the whole West.¹ He had been born in Maḥdiyya in Dhulḥijja, 353. He does not seem at first to have exercised all the functions of his office, a certain ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nu‘mān having the authority over criminal cases. If this is his cousin, the Kunya “Ibn ‘Umar” is wrong; perhaps it was some distant relative. A few years later, he placed Al-Ḥusain ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir to be judge in Old Cairo, Mālik ibn Sa‘īd al-Fāriḳī in New Cairo, and his brother, who is called simply al-Nu‘mān, in Alexandria. It is not apparent why he should in this manner have delegated to others so many of his functions.² But he was evidently harsh in his judgment, for in Ṣafar 391 (1000), or 393 (1002),³ he was treacherously attacked and wounded in the Jāmi‘ by a Spaniard, so that in future he had to be protected by a body guard. In spite of this, he seems to have been well in the favor of the caliph al-Ḥākim, who gave him a house near to the Khalīj al-Ḥākimi.⁴ He was the first Fatimide *cadi* to be appointed chief preacher; in addition, he was inspector of the mint and chief secretary. It was his own harshness of manner that caused his downfall. A man who brought a case before him had been wanting in due respect. At the order of the *cadi* the man was bastinadoed with 1800 strokes so that he died, and al-Ḥākim commenced gradually to shear him of his prerogatives. According to Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Raḳīḳ, it was his lust for money that really caused his downfall.

¹ In the diploma of Muḥammad ibn al-Nu‘mān nothing had been said about the Maghrib. It is, however, mentioned in that of ‘Alī. Of course, a *cadi* could exercise his functions only over the districts mentioned in his diploma. See Tornauw, *Le Droit Musulman*, p. 243. Al-Ḥusain was the first to have the title القاضي القضاة given to him officially.

He was also leader in prayer and surveiller of the markets. Al-Kalkash-andi (*l. c.*, p. 184) says: “at times the Egyptian provinces, the districts of Syria and the lands in the Maghrib were joined together under the jurisdiction of one *cadi*, and only one diploma was given him.”

² Though this was clearly within the rights of a *cadi*.

³ According to al-Musabbiḥī. In Ṣafar 13 he is reported to have said the prayers over the body of the vizier Ja‘far ibn al-Furāt. Ibn Khallikān, vol. i, p. 321.

⁴ *Khitaṭ*, vol. i, p. 71.

In Rajab 393 (1003), though al-Ḥusain was confirmed in his office, his cousin 'Abd al-'Azīz was permitted to take testimony and to act as referee. This divided authority occasioned much difficulty for litigants. His continued haughtiness and harshness eventually robbed him of the caliph's confidence, and he was finally removed from office on Ramaḍān 16, 394 (July 7, 1004). On Muḥarram 6, 394, he was imprisoned by the order of al-Ḥākim, and, together with two others, was beheaded at the beginning of 395. The bodies of all three were then burned.

The place of al-Ḥusain was taken by Abū al-Kāsim 'Abd al-'Azīz, who was invested cadi Ramaḍān the 16, 394.¹ He had already held office under or together with his cousin al-Ḥusain. It is expressly stated that he combined in his person all the offices of cadi, even that of hearing complaints.² He seems to

¹ Born Rabī' 1, 354 (= March 7, 965) or 355. The authorities disagree.

² **النظر في المظالم**. This office seems to have been in some manner similar to our court of appeal. Cases were also brought before the official holder of the appointment which could not, for one reason or another, be settled in the ordinary procedure. "**مظالم** torts, est un terme technique désignant les actes injustes et dommageables que les magistrats ordinaires se trouvent impuissants à réprimer, et dont on demande la réparation en s'adressant directement au Prince."—Léon Ostroog, *El Ahkām es-Soultāniyye*, Paris 1901, p. 209, note. Technically, again, the functions belonged to the vizier, though he might delegate them to a representative. Māwardī (*l. c.*, p. 39, 3) says in this respect: **ونجوز أن ينظر في المظالم ويستنوب فيها**. Al-Maḥrizī is more precise; according to him the vizier sat as appeal judge in case he was a military man. *Khīṭaṭ*, vol. i, p. 403, in the chapter headed: **مجلس النظر في المظالم**: **فإن كان وزيره صاحب سيف جلس المظالم بنفسه** وقبالتة قاضي القضاة. Generally, however, the head cadi was appointed by the caliph to hear such appeals, or an officer was especially designated for the purpose (see, also, *ibid.* vol. ii, p. 207). Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḥaddamāt*, p. 198: **وقد كان الخلفاء من قبل يجعلون للقاضي النظر في المظالم وهي وظيفة ممتازة من سطوة السلطنة ونصف القضاء وتحتاج إلى علو يد وعظيم رهبة لقبع الظالم من الخصمين**. See also, de Sacy, *l. c.*, notes, vol. i, p. 132; ibn Khallikān, vol. i, p. 346, note 14.

have enjoyed unwonted honors at the hands of al-Ḥākim, being permitted on two occasions to enter the pulpit with the caliph—an honor, which, as we have seen, had also been accorded to his father. As a judge he was severe and firm. He is especially noted for his learning in the Canon law according to the Ināmī rite. He was appointed to be the head of the *Dar al-ʿIlm*, where he collected a large library; he had the care of the mosques and of the pious foundations, (*wakf*), and was administrator for various estates. The marriage of his sons to the daughters of the Kā'id Faḍl ibn Ṣāliḥ was celebrated in the Kaṣr itself; but al-Ḥākim must in his madness have found some fault with him and he was deposed on Friday, Rajab 16, 398 (March 27, 1008). That he was married to a daughter of Jauhar has already been related. It was perhaps this fact that hastened his fall. On Sha'bān 7, 398, he and al-Ḥusain, son of Jauhar, the general in chief of the army, were ordered by al-Ḥākim to remain in their houses and not to show themselves in the market-places. This order was rescinded a few days afterwards, and 'Abd al-'Azīz was in office again in Ṣafar 19, 400.¹ But al-Ḥusain and 'Abd al-'Azīz evidently did not feel themselves safe, and together with the wife of 'Abd al-'Azīz they fled from Cairo. They were lured back by the crafty prince, Muḥarram 4, 401 (1009),² and the chief executioner, Rashīd al-Ḥaḳīkī, with ten Turks was ordered to put them to death. Their heads were then brought to al-Ḥākim. This occurred in Jumāda 2, 401 (Jan. 31, 1011).

Curiously enough, Ibn Khallikān asserts that with the death of 'Abd al-'Azīz "the office of *cadi* passed out of the family of al-Nu'mān;" but one more *cadi* was to come from the family—the son of 'Abd al-'Azīz, Abū Muḥammad al-Kāsim. Perhaps he is not mentioned by Ibn Khallikān since the exact date of his death is unknown. Yet this would not excuse his distinct statement in regard to the passing of the *cadiship*.

After the execution of 'Abd al-'Azīz, Mālik ibn Sa'd al-Fārīkī occupied the position. He remained in office until Rabī' 2, 405 (1011), when the functions were given to Abū al-'Abbās

¹ De Sacy, *Les Druses*, p. CCCXXXII, says in 399.

² Al-Maḳrīzī in de Sacy, *l. c.*, vol. i, p. 61. See, also, Ibn Khallikān, vol. i, pp. 253, 345. Even the position of *الناظر في البطالم* was again given to him.

Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdallāh ibn Abī-l-‘Awwām, who held office until his death in Rabī‘, 418 (1027). Al-Siyūṭī affirms that al-Ḳāsim was appointed immediately upon the death of Abū-al-‘Awwām ; but Ibn Ḥajar dates his first appointment from Jumāda 1. There may, therefore, have been another interregnum. In spite of the high-sounding titles attached to his name in the diploma, he lasted only a little over a year,¹ being succeeded by the son of Mālik, ‘Abd-al-Ḥākim ibn Sa‘īd. ‘Abd-al-Ḥākim was in turn deposed in Dhulḥa‘da 427 (1036) ;² and our Ḳāsim again returned to power, having jurisdiction over both civil and criminal cases, and being at the same time chief preacher. He had as assistant the historian Abu ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn Salāma al-Ḳudā‘ī.³ This second term of al-Ḳāsim lasted thirteen years, one month, and four days until Muḥarram, 441 (1049) ; but the historians do not speak with admiration of the manner in which he held his office. For short periods even he seems to have been replaced ; at one time by Yahyā al-Shihābī, at another by al-Ḳudā‘ī.⁴ He was followed in 441 by Abū-Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Yāzūrī, who was in power for seven years and was the first to unite in his person the offices of vizier and cadī.⁵ The further history of al-Ḳāsim is unknown, and with him the glory seems to have departed from the family of al-Nu‘mān.

From the biographical data given in the texts, the following genealogical tree may be constructed :

¹ Ibn Ḥajar says : “ one year, two months, and some days.” Paris Ms. 1850 has “ three months and a half.”

² Al-Siyūṭī has 329 !

³ Brockelmann, *l. c.*, vol. i, p. 343.

⁴ Ibn Taghri Birdī (Abu-l-Maḥāsīn), in his annals for the year 436 mentions the death of the Damascus cadī Muḥsin ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Abbās, who was the *nā‘ib* of al-Ḳāsim ibn al-Nu‘mān for that city. Dr. Wm. Popper, who is preparing an edition of the latter part of Ibn Taghri Birdī’s work, has been kind enough to give me this information.

⁵ See al-Ghumrī, below. The name occurs quite often in Mss. misspelled **بالزري**.

بانّها حبس . ثم اتّصل ذلك بابي الطاهر فاحصى ذلك فتظلم
فرج التحكّمي الى المعزّ فامر النعمان بن محمّد ان ينظر في
امرها فاتّصل به اشهاد ابي طاهر بجميع ما في الكتاب اى كتاب
التكبيس فشهد عنده الحسين بن كهش وعبد العزيز بن اعين
5 على اشهاد ابي طاهر بما ذكر فعاجلت النعمان المنية قبل
اكمال القضية . وكانت وفاته في [??] وكان يسكن مصر ويغدو
منها الى القاهرة في كلّ يوم واستمرّ ابو الطاهر على حاله ولكن
اضاف اليه المعزّ على بن النعمان وكان يحكم بالجامع العتيق ايضاً
[ثم¹] بعد موت المعزّ وتولّى العزيز ردّ امر دار الضرب والجامع لعلى²
10 بن النعمان بن محمّد فحضر الجامع وحكم وحضر ابو الطاهر في
جلسه على العادة وحكم وحضر معه جمع كثير من الشهود
والفقهاء والتجار واعلنوا بالدعاء لابي الطاهر [فاحضروا متولّي
لشرطة الذين اعلنوا بالدعا لابي الطاهر³] فاجنهم فشفع
فيهم على بن النعمان فاطلقوا وواصل ابو الطاهر الجلوس
15 بالجامع . ولم يزل امره مستقيماً الى ان حصلت له رطوبة
عطلت شقّه فعجز عن الحركة الاّ محمولاً . فركب العزيز يوماً في
مستهلّ صفر سنة ستين وثلاثمائة فتلقاه ابو الطاهر وهو محمول

¹ Mss. Paris 5893, 2152.² Mss. Paris 5893, 2152.³ Read المعزّ.

عند باب الضيافة فسأله ان يأذن له في السجلات ولده ابي
العلاء بن ابي الطاهر نيابة عنه يسبب ما به من الضعف .
فقال المعزّ ما بقى الا ان تقدّده ثم في ثالث يوم صرف ابا
الطاهر وقتل على بن النعمان كما سبق في ترجمته .

fol. 85a. على بن النعمان الاسماعيلي 5

على بن النعمان بن حمّاد بن منصور بن احمد بن حيّون
المغربى القيروانى الاسماعيلى من المائة الرابعة وُلِدَ في رجب
سنة ثمان وعشرين وثلاثمائة وقدم مع المعزّ من المغرب فامره
بالنظر في الحكم . فكان يحكم هو وابو الطاهر والشهود
يشهدون عليهم جميعاً وعندهما والاجتماع عند ابي الطاهر .¹⁰
فلما مات المعزّ ردّ امر الجامعين ودار الضرب لعلّى بن النعمان
فحضر الى الجامع العتيق وحكم ثم واطب ابو الطاهر الحكم في الجامع
وعزل جماعة¹ ثم عرض له الفالج ففوّض المعزّ² الحكم الى ابي
علّى بن النعمان وذلك ليلتين خلّتا من صفر سنة ست وستين
وثلاثمائة . فركب الى الجامع الازهر في جمع كثير وعليه خلعة¹⁵
مقلداً سيفاً وبين يديه خلع فى مناديل عدتها سبعة عشر

¹ Reading of Ms. Paris 2152, Ms. Berlin 9819. Ms. Paris 5898 has
وعد الجماعة 2149 ; Ms. 2149 وعد الجماعة .

² Read العزيز as Ms. Berlin 9819.

وقرى سجّله بالجامع وهو قائم على قدميه فكلّما مر ذكر المعزّ
 او احد من اهله اومى بالسجود. ثم توجه الى الجامع العتيق
 بمصر فوجد الخطيب عبد السميع ينتظره بالجامع وقد كان
 الوقت ان يخرج فصلّى الجمعة وقرى اخوه محمد عهده وفيه انه
 5 ولّى القضاء على مصر واعمالها والخطابة والامامة والقيام في
 الذهب والفضّة والموازين والمكاييل. ثم انصرف الى داره فركب
 اليه جماعة الشهود والاضاء والتجار ووجوه البلد ولم يتأخّر عنه
 احد وكان في سجّله اذا دعى احد الخصمين اليك ودعى الاخر الى
 غيرك ردّا جميعاً اليك فعرف ان ذلك اشارة الى منع ابى الطاهر
 10 فامتنع من يومئذ حين بلغه. فلما كان اليوم الثالث من ولايته
 ركب علىّ بن النعمان الى الجامع العتيق وبين يديه سلّة حمراء
 وجلس في مجلس الصفّ عند حلقة الزوال وركب معه الشهود
 والاضاء والفقهاء والتجار فكان الجمع وافراً جداً فنظر بين الناس
 ودعا بالوكلاء وقرأ عليهم سورة العصر وحضّهم على تقوى الله.
 15 ثم طلب الشهود وسأل عن القاضي ابى الطاهر فقال له الحسين
 بن كهمش وكان وجه الشهود حينئذ هو على حاله فقال ينظر
 في الحكم في داره دون الجلوس في الجامع فبلغ ذلك ابا الطاهر
 فنصرف الوكلاء وانقطع عن الحكم وعنى بعض اهل البلد بابى

الظاهر فتجد له توقيعا بان ينظر في الحكم على حاله وجمع
الشهود وقرى عليهم فبلغ ذلك ابا الطاهر فامتنع . وقال ما افعل
ولا بى طاقة . فقال له الحسين بن كهمش جاز [ي] الله القاضى
وسكت على بن النعمان [عن طلب ديوان الحكم فلم يسأل عنه
ولا طلبه حسن عشرة وجميل فعل . ولما امتنع ابو الطاهر⁵
انبسطت يد على بن النعمان¹ في الاحكام . واستخلف على اخاه
محمد² والحسن بن خليل الفقيه الشافعى وشرط عليه ان يحكم
بمذهب الاسماعيلية لا بمذهب الشافعى وكان يحكم اذا
اشتغل محمد . واستخلف على اخاه محمد² على تنيس ودمياط
والفرما وغيرها فخرج اليها وقرر فيها ثوابا ثم عادوا واتخذ¹⁰
على في داره سجفا . ولما سافر العزيز سنة ثمان وستين لحرب
لقرامطة سافر صحبته واستخلف اخاه محمد² واشاع جماعة ان
العزيز [عزل] على بن النعمان وكاتب محمد² اخاه بذلك فتجوز توقيع
العزيز الى متولى الشرطة وهو حسن بن القاسم بالكشف عن ذلك .
وتقدم اليه بعدم² الخوض في ذلك وتقوية يد محمد² بن النعمان .¹⁵
وكانت الشهود يجلس في الجامع على رسم القضاة قبله في الشتاء في
المقصورة وفي الصيف عند الشباك ثم وقع الابعاد ان يجلس معه

¹ Mss. Paris 5893, 2152.² Mss. Paris 5893, 2152.

في مجلسه اربعة عن يمينه وعن يساره وبشاهدون ما يقيم من احكامه وكان الذي يكتب عنه التواقيع يأخذ عليها رسماً فانكر ذلك على بن النعمان بعد سنة من ولايته ومنعه. وارتد في أيامه رجل واستأذن العزيز وضرب عنقه واختص ابن النعمان ٥ بالعزيز كاختصاص ابيه بالمعز. وكان يجالسُ ويواكلُ ويركب معه ويسايرُه وكان الوزير يعقوب بن كلثوم يعارضه وهو يتغافل عنه وزاد به الامر الى ان كان لا ينفذ حكماً ولا يعدل شاهداً ولا يقلد نائباً الا بعد مطالعة الوزير بذلك. وابطل القاضي الجلوس بالجامع لمبالغة الوزير في اضعاف يده الى ان قبض على 10 الوزير فعاد على بن النعمان الى حالته. وكان اول من لقب قاضي القضاء بالديار المصرية لانه كان في سجله ان جميع الاعمال داخلته في ولايته.

fol. 129a. محمد بن النعمان بن محمد بن منصور بن احمد بن حشوب¹ المغربي القيرواني نزيل [القاهرة امامي من المائة 15 الرابعة ولد في ثالث صفر سنة اربعين وثلثمائة بالمغرب وقدم²] القاهرة صكبة والده مع المعتز³ وناب عن اخيه علي بن النعمان في اخر امره وولي⁴ العزيز استقلالاً

¹ Read حيّون as in Ms. Paris 5898.

² Mss. Paris 5898, 2152.

³ Read المعز.

⁴ Ms. Paris 5898 وولاه.

بعد موت اخيه في يوم الجمعة لسبع بقين من رجب سنة
 اربع وسبعين. وخلع عليه وقتل سيفاً ونزل الى مصر من
 يومه في قبة على بغل لعل كانت به. فدخل الجامع فلم يقدر على
 الجلوس فرجع الى داره وجلس ولده عبد العزيز واولاد اخوته
 وجماعة الشهود حتى قرى عهده في الجامع بعد صلاة الجمعة 5
 بقضاء على الديار المصرية والاسكندرية والحرمين واجناد الشام.
 وفرض اليه الصلاة وعيار الفضة والذهب والموازين والمكايل
 وذكر في سجله ابوه واخوه واثنى عليهم. ثم ارسل ابن اخيه
 الحسين بن علي الى الجامع الحاكم¹ للحكم بين الناس وكاتب
 خلفاء النواحي. فلما كان يوم الجمعة اول جمادى الاولى سنة خمس 10
 وسبعين عقد لابنه عبد العزيز على بنت جوهر القائد في مجلس
 العزيز. وكان الصداق ثلاثة الاف دينار والشاهدان محمد بن عبد
 الله العتقي وعبد الله بن محمد [بن²] رجا. وخلع العزيز على
 الزوج وانصرف محمد بن النعمان في جمع كثير من الخواص ثم
 قرر ابنه عبد العزيز في نيابته وصرف ابن اخيه الحسين بن علي. 15
 قال المسيحي³ كان محمد بن النعمان خبيراً بالاحكام حسن

¹ Delete; not in Mss. Paris 5892, 2152.² Mss. Paris 5893, 2152.³ Read المسيحي.

الاديب¹ والمعرفة بايام الناس . قال العنفي² في تأريخه امر المعز وهو بالمغرب قاض بلاده النعمان بن محمد ان يعمل له اصطرلابات فضة وان يجلس مع الصانع بعض ثقافته فاجلس النعمان ولده محمدًا . فلما فرغ توجه به الى المعز فسأله من اجلس مع الصانع . قال ولدى محمد [أ] . فقال هو قاضي مصر .⁵ قال محمد بن النعمان كان المعز اذا رأى قال لولده وانا صبي هذا قاضيك قال المسيحي³ وعدل محمد بن النعمان في ايامه نحوًا من ثلاثين نفسًا قال المسيحي³ كان محمد بن النعمان خبير النظر في الاحكام تقدّمت اليه امرأة طالبة زوجها بحقّها فامتنع⁴ من دفعه لها فسألت القاضي ان يحبسها فامر بذلك . ثم نظر اليها فوجدها جميلة وظهر عليها السرور . فلما توجه الى الحبس امر القاضي بحبسها مع زوجها فغضبت فقال لها حبسناه لحقك ونحبسك لحقّه فلما تحققت ذلك افرجت عنه فلما توجهت قال القاضي رأيتها فرحت بحبسها فخشيت انّها تخلص بنفسها لغيبه⁴ .¹⁵ قال وكان الوزير ابن كلّس كثير المعارضة لبني النعمان في احكامهم فاتفق ان الحسن بن الحسين بن عليّ بن يحيى الدقاق زوج

¹ Read الادب as Ms. Paris 5893.

² Ms. Paris 5893 has العنقي : 2152 العصى .

³ Read المسيحي .

⁴ Ms. Paris 5893 زوجها لغيبه .

ولده يتيمة تعرف ببنت الديباجي باذن محمد بن النعمان في ذلك . فقام بكر بن احمد المالكي احد الشهود وادعى فساد العقد لكونها غير بالغ . وبالع في ذلك فقال ابن النعمان ثبت عندي باقرارها انها بلغت فحملت الى القصر ورفع امرها الى العزيز وكشف عنها فوجدت غير بالغ فقدم الى القاضي بفسخ⁵ النكاح فاحضر الوزير القاضي والشهود وشهدهم¹ وقال يتقدم مولانا بفسخ هذا النكاح وبالوقوف عن قبول شهادة هؤلاء الشهود . ففعل وكتب بذلك سجلاً بامضاء ذلك وفيه انه ثبت عنده انها غير بالغ . ثم بالغ الوزير في الانكار على الشهود في التساهل وكان ذلك في سلخ جمادى الاولى سنة خمس وسبعين¹⁰ وامر بحفظ مال الصبية ثم ابتاع لها منه ربعاً . ووقع الى محمد بن النعمان ان نصرانياً اسلم ثم ارتد وقد جاوز الثمانين فاستتيب فابي فانهى امره الى العزيز فسلمه لوالى الشرطة . وارسل الى القاضي ان يرسل اربعة من الشهود ليستتيبوه فان تاب ضمن له عنه مائة دينار وان اصر فليقتل فعرض اليه الاسلام¹⁵ فاتي بقتل . ثم اتى بتغريقه في النيل . ورفع اليه رجل من ولد عقيل بن ابي طالب زوجته ومعها ابنة لها جدها فتلطّف به

¹ Ms. Paris 5893 + وهذا هم .

ابن النعمان فلم يجد فيه حيلة فانهى امره الى العزيز فامره
 بالملاعنة بينهما وكتب¹ في ذى القعدة سنة ثمان وسبعين الى
 الجامع العتيق فاجتمع الشهود ووعظ الزوج فابى الا اللعان
 فلاعن بينهما ثم فرّق بينهما . ثم استخلف ولده عبد العزيز
 5 الحكم وكان ينظر كلّ اثنين وخميس وفي أوّل سنة احدى وثمانين
 عدّل جماعة من الاشراف وفي صفر سنة اثنين وثمانين رتب رجلا
 جعفر بالجلوس في الجامع للفتوى على مذهب اهل البيت . فشغب
 عليه الفقهاء من اهل الجامع فبلغ ذلك [القاضي²] فقبض على
 بعضهم وطوّف بثلاثة منهم على الجمال . وعلت منزلة القاضي
 10 عبد العزيز وقطع النزول الى الجامع ونظر في الحكم في دارة . ولم يكن
 احد يخاطبه الا بسيّدنا . فلما توفّي العزيز سكن محمّد بن
 النعمان في دارة بالقاهرة ورتب ابنه عبد العزيز كلّ اثنين وخميس
 ينظر في الاحكام بمصر . قال ابن ذولاق³ ما شاهدنا لقاض
 من القضاة بمصر ما شاهدناه لمحمّد بن النعمان ولا بلغنا
 15 ذلك عن قاض بالعراق . وكان مع ذلك مستحقّا لما هو فيه من
 العلم والصيانة والتحفظ والهيئة واقامة الحقّ وفيه يقول ابو عبد
 الله السمرقندي :

¹ Read وركب as Ms. Paris 5898.² Ms. Paris 5898.³ Read ذولاق .

وحبّه في قضاياه غريبٌ خطيرٌ في مفاخره جليلٌ
تألف بهجة ومضى اعتراماً كما يتألف السيف الصقيلُ
ويقضى والسواد له حليفٌ ويعطى والغمام له زميلُ
إذا ركب المنابر فهو قسٌ وإن حضر المشاهد فالحليلُ

قال المسيحي¹ وله نظم كثير ليس بالقوى فمن اجوده 5

أيًا مشبه البدر بدر السما لسبع وخمس مضت واثنين
ويا كامل الحسن في نعته شغلت فوادي واسهرت عيني
فهل لي في فيك من مطمع والّا انصرفت بخفى حنين

قال وفي ولايته رجم رجلاً خبّاراً اصاب امرأة عذوبة من زنا. وكان
رجمه بسوق الدواب بقرب الجامع الطولوني وذلك سنة اثنتين 10
وتسعين. قال ولما حصل له التمكن الزائد وعلت رتبته لزمته
الامراض كالنقرس والقولنج وكان اكثر ايامه عليلاً. وولده عبد
العزیز ينظر في الاحكام ويحجّل في دار ابيه وغيرها وكان يرجو ان
يعوده في كلّ خميس مع عظمة برجوان. قال وكان فيه احسان
لاتباعه مع حسن الخلق والبزة والمركوب وكثرة الطيب 15
والبخور اذا جلس في مجلسه واذا ركب. وكان اذا اعطى عطا كثيرًا
وعجّله. وكانت وفاته وهو على القضاة في ليلة الثلاثاء الرابع من

¹ Read المسيحي

صفر سنة تسع وثمانين وثلثمائة. فركب الحاكم فصلّى عليه في
 دارة ودفنه تحت قبّتها ثمّ نقل بعد الى القرافة. وكانت مدّة
 ولايته اربع عشرة سنة وستّة اشهر وعشرة ايام. ووجد عليه من
 اموال اليتامى وغيرهم ستّة وثلاثون الف دينار. فامر الحاكم
 5 بـرجوان ان يحتاط على موجوده فارسل كاتبه ابا العلاء فهذا
 النصراني فاحتاطوا عليه وشرعوا في البيع وفي تغريم الشهود
 الذين كانت الودائع تحت ايديهم. فمن احضر ورقة بخطّ
 القاضي ترك. ومن لم يحضر خطّ القاضي عزم الى ان تحصل
 قدر نصف الدين. فدفع للمستحقّين بقدر النصف. وتقدّم امر
 10 الحاكم ان لا يودع بعد ذلك عند احد من الشهود مال يتيم
 والاغائب وافرد موضع بزقاف القناديل يوضع فيه المال ويختتم
 عليه اربعة من الشهود لا يفتح [الا] بكضور جميعهم فاستمرّ
 الامر على ذلك مدّة. وكان محمّد بن النعمان سلّم لعبد الله
 بن احمد بن محمّد المدائني احد الشهود مال يتيم واراد
 15 الاشهاد عليه بذلك فامتنع فقال محمّد ما كان بالذي يودع
 الاشهاد فاتفق انّ المدائني مات في سنة تسع وسبعين وعنده
 ودائع كثيرة فراسله يزيد بن السنديّ كاتب الحكم قبل ان

¹ Ms. Paris 5893.

يموت حتى اشهد عليه بما عنده فلما مات لم يوجد اكثر ذلك
فباع القاضي دارة بخمسة آلاف دينار فوفى بها الودائع .

fol. 40a الحسين بن عليّ بن النعمان بن محمّد بن منصور بن
احمد بن حيّون بمهملّة ويا اخر الحروف بمهملّة مضمونة وآخرة نون
المغربىّ الاسماعيليّ من المائة الرابعة ولد لليلتين بقيتا من 5
ذى الحجة سنة ثلاث وخمسين وثلثمائة بالمهديّة . وقدم مع ابيه
بالقاهرة وهو صغير فحفظ كتابا في الفقه ومهر الى ان صار من
ائمّة السبعة . واستخلفه عمّه محمّد بن النعمان بالجامع في الحكم
ثم صرفه بابنه عبد العزيز [بن] محمّد . فلما مات محمّد بن
النعمان اقامت مصر بغير قاضى لتسعة² عشر يوما [ف]استدعاه 10
برجوان بامر الحاكم فولّاه القضا وولّى المظالم ابن عمّه عبد
العزيز بن محمّد بن النعمان وذلك في آخر صفر او اوّل شهر
بيع الاول سنة تسع وثمانين وثلثمائة³ وحرّره المسبّحى في الثالث
والعشرين من صفر . قال فقلّده سيفاً وخلع عليه ثيابا بيضا
مقطوعة ورداء برداء وعمّه بعبامة مذهبين وحمله على بغلة 15
وقاد بين يديه بغلتين وحمل معه ثيابا صحيحة كثيرة . وقرى
عهده بولاية القضا بالقاهرة ومصر والاسكندريّة والشام

¹ Mss. Paris 5898, 2152.

² تسعة Mss. Paris 5898, 2152.

³ Ms. Paris 2152.

والحرمين والمغرب واعمال ذلك وهو قائم على قدميه . واضيفت اليه الصلاة والحسبة . فركب الى الجامع ووقف عن قبول جماعة من¹ شهود عمه² وعدّتهم اربعة عشر [نفسا]³ والمسبحي اسماهم . ثم قتلهم بعد مدّة شهر . واستخلف على الحكم الحسين بن محمّد 5 بن طاهر بمصر وبالقاهرة مالك بن سعيد الفارقي واقام النعمان اخاه في المنظر في العبدان فاضاف اليه قضا الاسكندرية وعلى الفروض احمد بن محمّد بن العوام . والزعم من ينظر في مال الايقام بعمل الحسابات.⁴

فبينما هو في ثامن صفر سنة احدى وتسعين جالسا في 10 الجامع بمصر يقرأ عليه الفقه اقيمت الصلاة صلاة العصر فدخل فيها ان هجم عليه مغربي اندلسي فضربه ضربين بمنجل قفاص في وجهه ورأسه فامسك الرجل فقتل وصلب . وصار من ذلك اليوم يحرسه عشرون رجلا بالسلاح . وذكر المسبحي في تأريخه ذلك في حوادث سنة ثلاث وتسعين في ثاني الحزم . واقام القاضي 15 الى ان اندمل جرحه فركب الى الحاكم فخلع عليه وحمله على بخلّة وقاد بين يديه اخرى . وان الحسين هذا جرح وهو راع

¹ Ms. ممن .

² On margin النعمان ; in Ms. 2152 as a correction in the author's hand.

³ Ms. Paris 5893.

⁴ Ms. Paris 5893 المعيار .

⁵ Ms. Paris 5893 الحسابات .

في صلاة العصر. وكان اذا صلى بصف خلفه الحرس بالسيوف حتى يفرغ فيصلّون هم حينئذ.

قال المستبحي وهو أول قاضي فعل معه ذلك. وكان الحاكم قد أمر ان يضعف للحسين ارزاق عمه وصلاته واقطاعاته وشرط عليه ان يتعرّض من اموال الرعيّة للدرهم فما فوقه. وخلع عليه وقتلده سيفاً وحمله على بغلة وفوض اليه الحكم بجميع المملكة وكذلك الخطابة والامامة بالمساجد الجامعة والنظر عليها وعلى غيرها من المساجد وولاه مشارفة دار الضرب والدعوة وقرأة المجالس بالعصر وكتابتها. وهو أول من اضيفت اليه الدعوة من قضاة العبيديين. وكان الناس يظنون انه لا يتورّى القضاة 10 لضعف حاله وان الولاية انما هي لعبد العزيز بن محمّد [ابن] عمه لما كان ابوه قدّمه في الحكم في حياته وهذبه ودرجه. ثم رفع جماعة من الناس ان لهم ودائع مودعة في الديوان الحكيم فاحضر القاضي ابن عمه عبد العزيز بن محمّد بن النعمان 15 وكاتب عمه ابا طاهر بن المسندى وسألتهما عن ذلك. فذكر ان عمه تصرّف في ذلك كله على سبيل القرض. فانكر عليهما ذلك واشتد في المطالبة وولّى استرفاع حسابهم فهد بن ابراهيم النصرائي كاتب برجوان [فوكّل بهم] 2. وفتش عليهم والزم عبد

¹ Ms. Paris 2152.

² Ms. Paris 5898.

العزیز ببيع ما خلفه ابوه . فباع الموجود فتكّصل منه سبعة الاف دينار وزيادة . وحصل الكاتب قدرها مرتين . فاستدعى القاضى وهو جالس بالقصر اصحاب الحقوق فوفاهم حقوقهم وقرر فى رفاق القناديل موضعا للودائع الحكيمية واقام فيه خمسة من الشهود⁵ يضبطون ما يكحضر ويعرف . وهو اول من افرد للمودّع الحكيمى مكانا معينا . وكانت الاموال قبل ذلك تودع عند القضاة او امنائهم . وباشر الحسين بصرامة ومهابة . وهو اول من كتب فى سجله قاضى القضاة وابوه اول من خطب بها من قضاة مصر . وتقدّم اليه الحسن المغربي خصومة فزلّ لسانه بشيء خاطب¹⁰ به القاضى فاغضبه فارسل الى والى الشرطة¹ فضربه بالف درّة وثمانى مائة درّة بحضرة حاجب القاضى وطيف به فمات من يومه واخرجت جنازته فحضرها اكثر اهل البلد وكرموا قبره والدعا له وعلى من ظلمه . وندم القاضى على ما فعل وفاته الندم .

15 فلما كان فى رجب سنة ثلاث وتسعين اذن الحاكم لعبد العزيز بن محمّد ان يسمع الدعوى والبيّنة مع استمرار الحسين على وظائفه . فرتّب عبد العزيز له شهودا يحضرون مجلسه وشرط عليهم ان لا يحضروا مجلس ابن عمّه فبقى الناس فى

¹ الشرط . Ms.

امر مريج . فمن رفع قصّة الى الحسين رفع عزيمة قصّة الى عبد العزيز واذا حضر عبد العزيز الى الجامع تخلو دار الحسين فكثير الكلام في ذلك والخوض فيه¹ . فكتب الحاكم بخطه سجلاً بانه لم ياذن لغير الحسين ان يشارك الحسين فيما فوّض اليه وامر بان يمنع من يسجّل على غيره في شيء من الاحكام [fol. 40b] وان من 5 دعا احدا من الخصوم وكان قد سبق الى الحسين ان لا يمكن احدا منه . وقرى هذا السجّل على البلاد وانشرح خاطر القاضى بذلك . ولم يزل على جلالته حتى افترط في مجاوزة الحد في التعاطم . والزّم الشهود بحضور مجلسه في داره وبالجامع ومن غاب منهم لزمه جعل حيّد يوخذ منه . وكان ينتتبع قراءة من يسجّل عليه 10 عنده قبل ان يشهد به على نفسه .

وكان مع ذلك كثير الافضال على اهل العلم والادب² في الثبوت ولهم عليه جرايات من القمح والشعير مشاهدة غيرها ويصلهم بالملابس وغير ذلك الى ان خرج امر الحاكم بصرفه عن الحكم في شهر رمضان سنة اربع وتسعين . فلم يشعر وهو 15 بدارة حتى دخل عليه من اعلمه بان ابن عمّه عبد العزيز ولّى القضا . فانكر ذلك الى ان تحقّقه فاعلق بابّه ولزم بيته واشتدّ

¹ Ms. Paris 5893 منه .

² Ms. Paris 5893 for الثبوت has في الثبوت .

خوفه الى ان كان فى السادس من الحَرَم فامر الحاكم فاحضر على حمار نهارا وامر بحبسها الى اول سنة خمس وتسعين . فضربت عنقه هو وابو الطاهر المغازلى وموذن القصر واحرقت جثة الثلاثة عند باب الفتوح . وكان مما اُنكره¹ الحاكم قصة الرجل الذى ضربته والى الشرطة فمات كما تقدّم .

وقد ذكر ابراهيم بن الرقيق فى تاريخ افریقیّة قصة الحسين هذا مع الحاكم فقال ما نصّه وقتل الحاكم قاضيه حسين بن على النعمان فاحرقه بالنار . قالوا وكان من اسباب قتله ان الحاكم كان قد ملأ عينه ويده وشرط عليه العقّة عن اموال الناس .¹⁰ فرفع الى الحاكم شخص متظلم رقعة يذكر فيها ان اباه مات وترك له عشرون الف دينار . وانّها كانت فى ديوان القاضى حسين وكان ينفق عليه منها مدّة معلومة فحضر يطلب من ماله شيئا . فاعلمه القاضى ان الذى له نقد . فاستدعى الحاكم بالقاضى فيرفع اليه الرقعة فاجابه بما قال الرجل وان الذى¹⁵ خلفه ابوه استوفاه فى نفقته . فامر الحاكم باحضار ديوان القاضى فى الحال . فاحضر ففتش فيه عن مال الرجل فظهر انه انما وصل الى القليل منه . ووجد اكثره باقى . فعُدّ على القاضى ما رتبته واجراه عليه واكرامه اياها وما شرط عليه من عدم

¹ اُنكر Ms. Paris 5893

التعريض¹ لأموال الرعية . فجدع² وهاله وقال العفو واتوب . وانصرف بالرجل فدفع اليه ما له واشهد عليه . فحقد الحاكم عليه ذلك فامر به فحبس . ثم اخرج بعد ذلك على حمار نهارا والناس ينظرون الى ان ساروا به الى المنطرة فضربت عنقه واحرقته جثته . وكانت مدة ولايته القضا خمس سنين وسبعة اشهر واحد⁵ عشر يوما . قال المسبكي لاعن بين رجل سكرى وامرأته في الجامع العتيق ولم يسبق لذلك يعنى في دولة العبيديين . قال واقطع الحاكم القاضي المذكور دارا بالقرب من الخليج الحاكم فكان في ايام النيل يركب في [blank]³ الى هذه الدار ويساير⁸ الشهود على دوائهم في البر . ثم يركب منها الى القصر ثم يعود¹⁰ اليها ثم يرجع الى سكنه بالدار الحمراء .

fol. 73a. عبد العزيز بن محمد بن النعمان بن محمد بن

المنصور بن احمد بن حيون المغربي القيرواني اسماعيلي

من المائة الرابعة ولد في اول ربيع الاول سنة خمس وخمسين

وثلاثمائة . وكانت ولايته القضا في يوم الخميس السادس عشر من¹⁵

رمضان سنة اربع وتسعين وثلاثمائة واضيف اليه المظر في

المظالم وخلعت عليه الخلع على العادة وحمل على بغلة وقيدت

¹ Ms. Paris 5893 التعريض .

² Ms. Paris 5893 فجزع .

³ Ms. Paris 5893 عازمي .

بين يديه ثنتان وحمل بين يديه سفظ ثياب ودخل الى الجامع
فكحضر في موكب حفل وقرى تقليده على المنبر . وكان أول
احكامه انه اوقف لجميع الشهود الذين قبلهم عمه الحسين ما
عد اشرف بن محمد المقرئ فانه استكتبه في التوقيع والقصص .
5 وكتب له في الاسجال عليه قاضى القضاة عبد العزيز قاضى عبد
الله ووليه منصور ابى على الامام الحاكم امير المؤمنين صلوات
الله عليه وعلى ابائه الطاهرين على القاهرة المعزية ومصر
والاسكندرية والحرمين واجناد الشام والرحبة والرقّة والمغرب
واعمالها وما فتحة الله وما يسر فتحة لامير المؤمنين [من
10 بلدان المشرق والمغرب¹]

² واستخلف عبد العزيز في الحكم مالك ابن سعيد الفارقي
وابن ابى العوام في العرض ولازم الشهود الذين لم يقبلهم
بابه . فارسل اليهم انه قد كثر نظار حكم على ويشفعكم في
قبول الشهادة . فيلزم كل واحد منكم شغلته فمن احتجت
15 الى شهادته منكم اتعدت اليه فانصرفوا عنه .

¹ Ms. Paris 5893, 2152. At this point there follows, in the Paris Ms. 2149, a portion of Ibn Hajar's biography of 'Abd ar-Rahmān ibn 'Umar al-Bulkīnī, † 824 A.H., which has been accidentally misplaced.

² The following up to p. 260, line 13, is taken from Ms. Paris 5893.

فلما كان في السابع عشر من ذي القعدة طلبهم واستحلفهم
أنهم ما كانوا سعوا في طلب الشهادة عند عمه ولا رشده
ولا عدوا له فحلفوا على ذلك فقبلهم. واصعد الحاكم عبداً
العزیز معه¹ على المنبر في الجمع والاعيان على عادة من
تقدمه وامتدت يده في الاحكام وعلت منزلته وجلس في⁵
الجامع وابتدأ في كتاب جدّه اختلاف اصول المذاهب. وفي
ولايته فوض الحاكم اليه النظر على دار العلم التي انشأها.
وكان الحاكم بناها واتقنها وجعل فيها من كتب العلوم
شيئاً كثيراً واباحها للفقهاء وان يجلسوا فيها بحسب اختلاف
اعراضهم من نسخ ومطالعة وقراءة بعد ان فرشت وعلقت¹⁰
الستور على ابوابها ورتب فيها الخدام² والقرشّة. ويخصّص
عبد العزيز هذا لمجالسة³ الحاكم ومسايرته فاحتاج القاضي
الى الاذن لولده القاسم الاكبر في الحكم بالجامع. وكان
يجلس فيه لسماع الاحكام والفصل بين الخصوم وصار الناس
يترددون في امورهم⁴ منه الى ابيه ومن ابيه الى عمه ولده¹⁵

¹ Above the word ٢, referring to the marginal note ٢. Does this mean "delete!"?

² Ms. Paris 2152 الخدم.

³ Ms. Paris 5893 مجالسة.

⁴ Ms. Paris 2152 من امورهم الى ابيه.

الاصغر ان يثبت كتب الناس ويفصل بينهم في مجلس حكم بمنزله. وفوض اليه الحاكم ايضا النظر في تركة ابن عمه حسين بن علي بن النعمان بعد قتله. فتسلم جميع ما وجد له. وكذا فعل في تركة ابي منصور الجوزي¹ وهو من كبار دولته وقدمه في الصلاة على جماعة من اوليائهم² جرت العادة باثني لا يصلي عليهم الا الخليفة وامره في يوم عاشورا ان يمنع النساء والناس من المرور في الشوارع. وكانت سنتهم اثمهم في يوم عاشورا يخرجون النساء وغيرهن للنوح والبكاء على الحسين وينشدون المراثي³ في الشوارع وتمد¹⁰ الغاغة ايديهم الى امثلة الباعة. فرفعوا ذلك الى الحاكم فامر القاضي بمنعهم من المرور في الشوارع وان يختص النوح والنشيد بالصحراء. واتفق ان بعض الكتامييين كان عنده حق فامتنع من ادائه وكان عنده سنة باس وتحرفة فرفع امره الى القاضي فانفذ اليه رسولا فاهانه. فرفع الامر¹⁵ للحاكم فامر باحضار الكتاميي مسحوبا الى القاضي ببصر. ثم احضر الى القاهرة ماشيا والزم بالخروج مما عليه. وامره الحاكم بالنظر في المساجد وينقد اوقافها وجمع الربع وصرفه

¹ Ms. Paris 5898 الجوزي. ² Ib. اوليائه. ³ Ib. المراثي.

في وجوهه ففعل ذلك وبالع فيهِ وافرد لذلك شاهدين يضبطانه .
 وزوّج القاضي ولديه بابنتي القائد فضل بن صالح وكان
 الاملاك بالقصر على صداق اربعة الاف دينار انعم الحاكم
 بها من بيت المال . فخلع عليهما¹ ثوبان مفصلات وستة
 عشر قطعة من الثياب الملفوفة وحملتا على بغلتين⁵
 مسروجتين وقيد بين يديهما² مثل ذلك . ويصلب القاضي
 في احكامه وارتفعت كلمته ويفرز على³ جميع اهل الدولة .
 وتقدم الى جميع الشهود ان من يخلو عن البكرة الى حضور
 المجلس كل اثنين وخميس الزم بمغرم ثقيل . وسأله خليفته
 في الحكم مالك بن سعيد ان يستخلف الخليل بن الحسن¹⁰
 بن الخليل عنه اذ اطرفه امر يمنعه⁴ من الركوب او التوجه
 الى مجلس الحكم . فاذن له ولم يعهد ذلك لغيره ان النائب
 يستنيب عنه في المدينة .⁵ وذكر المسبكي في تأريخه في
 حوادث سنة سبع وتسعين وثلاثمائة ما حاصله ان علي
 ابن سليمان المنجم وكان من خواص قائد القواد الحسين⁷ 15

¹ عليها 5893 ; فخلع عليهما مفصلات Ms. Paris 2152 .

² يديها Ms. Paris 5893 .

³ Ms. Paris 2152 في .

⁴ Ms. Paris 5893 منعه .

⁵ From here on the text is from Ms. Paris 2149, compared with 5893 and 2152.

⁶ The reading of 5893 and 2152; Ms. 2149 has اسماعيل ابن المنجم .

⁷ Ms. 2149 بن حسين .

ابن جوهر اخبره أنّ القاضى زار الحسين بن جوهر القائد
 فى داره¹ [فى] يوم احد من صيام النصارى وكان عنده ابو
 الحسن الرسى والمنجم² ومن يخدمهم فدخل الغلام فقال
 ابو يعقوب بن قسطاس الطبيب بالباب فاذن له فدخل وهم
 5 على المائدة فاطهر السرور به واحضر له عدة الوان ثم
 رفعت المائدة وقدم الشراب وما يلائمه من الفاكهة والمشوم³
 فاقبلوا على عملهم الى ان سكروا. فاما القاضى فانصرف
 ونام القائد والرسى واستمر ابو يعقوب الطبيب بالطارمة التى
 كان بناها فى ذلك المكان وهى تطلّ على نهر كبير يشرب
 10 ويطرب الى ان غلب عليه السكر. فخرج وطلب بغلته
 فقدمت له بغلة الرسى فامتنع من ركوبها فسأله الخدم ان
 يعود الى مكانه الى ان تحضر بغلته فرجع الى المكان الذى
 فيه الرسى فنام الى جانبه فقام احد الفرّاشين فرفع الستارة
 يتفقدّهما. فرأى الرسى فلم ير ابا يعقوب فدخل وتطلبه
 15 فلم يجد طرف ثوبه فى الماء فاستدعى فرّاشا يعرف السباحة
 فنزل الى النهر فوجده قد التفت ثيابه على وجهه فغطس
 فى الماء. فاعلم الخدم القائد فاستدعى القاضى وابنه⁴ الرسى

والمشروب³ Ms. Paris 5893. ² Mss. 2149, 5893. ¹ Ib. >

⁴ Ibid. وانتبه.

وشقّ عليهم ذلك لعلمهم بمنزلته من الحاكم . فسألوني ان
اعلم الحاكم بذلك فدخلت اليه فذكرت له انّ ابا يعقوب
قام من الليل وهو دهش فسقط في النهر فالى ان يصل
اليه الفراش وجده قد التّف في ثيابه فغطس فشقّ عليه
واظهر الاسف وبحث عن الامر فعرفوه بصورة الحال فهزّ راسه .⁵
فاذا بالقائد والقاضي والرسى قد وصلوا الى القصر مشاة
بعمائم لطاف فاستدعاهم فحلفوا واكّدوا له الايمان ان¹
كان لهم في شانه شيء واستشهدا القائد والقاضي بالرسى
فشهد لهما بالبراءة من ذلك فامر بتكفينه ودفنه . وكان
ذلك في اواخر سنة سبع وتسعين .

10

فلما كان في يوم الخميس النصف من شهر رجب سنة
ثمان وتسعين شاع بين الناس انّ عبد العزيز القاضي عزل
وقرّر خليفته مالك بن سعيد فارتفع النهار ولم ينزل الى
مجلس الحكم الى قرب² الظهر . ثمّ نزل وحكم وصلى للناس
الظهر الى ان انصرف بمفرده من غير حاجب ولا ركابي¹⁵
حتّى دخل داره . فلما كان اخر النهار طاف جماعة على³
جميع اولياء الدولة بان⁴ اجتمعوا بالقصر بكرة فحضروا

ان Ibid . في Ms. Paris 2152 . قريب Ibid . بان Ibid .

فحضر مالك بن سعيد فقلد جميع ما كان بيد¹ عبد العزيز وكانت مدّة ولايته ثلاث سنين وتسعة اشهر وثمانية وعشرين يوما.

قال المستحقي عزل عبد العزيز في ايام نظره في المظالم 5 ثلاثة عشر نفسا وفي ايام قضائه نفرين واستمرّ عبد العزيز بعد عزله يتردد الى القصر خاليا² يترقب القتل الى ان كان الحادى عشر من جمادى الاخرة سنة تسع وتسعين ركب القائد حسين بن جوهر والقاضي على عادتهما فسلما وانصرفا فارسل اليهما فحضر عبد العزيز اولا فاعتقل 10 ورجع خادمه ببغلته واختفى القائد وولده فكسر بابه وحرض الحاكم على تحصيله فتعدّر³ عليه فامر باطلاق عبد العزيز فرجع الى منزله وقد اقاموا عليه العزاء فسكتهم وكان الباعة قد اغلقوا حوانيتهم فامرهم بفتكها. ثم بعد ثلاثة ايام حضر القائد بالامان فخلع عليه وعلى عبد العزيز خلعا 15 سنينة وحملت قدامهما ثياب كثيرة وحملوا على فرسين وقيدت بين ايديهما عدّة خيول واعاد الحاكم النظر في المظالم الى القاضي عبد العزيز وقرئ سجلّه وخلع عليه خلعا مقطوعة

¹ Ms. Paris 5898 . بيد.

² Ibid خائفا .

³ Ms. Paris 2149 فتعدّل .

وطيلسان¹ وحمل على بغلة وبين يديه أخرى وحمل بين يديه سبط ثياب فاستمر في تاسع عشر صفر سنة اربع مائة. ثم قبض على اقطاعه وضرب على باب داره لوح باسم الديوان. وفي اواخر رمضان اعرس ولدى القاضي بابنتي القائد التي تقدّم عقدهما عليها. 5

فلما كان اخر المحرم سنة احدى واربع مائة استشعر القاضي والقائد من الحاكم الغدر منهما. فلما كان في التاسع من صفر هرب القاضي وقائد القوّاد حسين بن جوهر واتباعهما وصحبتهما جماعة ومعهما من الاموال شيء كثير وتوجّهوا على طريق دجوة. فلما بلغ الحاكم ذلك ختم 10 على دورهما. وامر مالك بن سعيد الفارقي بالركوب الى دار القاضي وحسين وضبط ما فيها وحمله فلم يزل القاضي والقائد مستترين الى السادس من المحرم سنة احدى واربع مائة فظهرا وكتب لهما الامان من الحاكم وخلع عليهما فلازما الخدمة الى ان كان يوم الجمعة ثاني عشر جمادى 15 الاخرة منها حضرا الخدمة وانصرفا. فارسل اليهما في الحال فرجعا فقتل كلا منهما جماعة من الانراك في الدهليز وختم

وطيلسانا¹ ؟

في الحال على دورهما وذهب دمهم¹ هدرًا واحيط على دورهما في الوقت وقبض على كثير من اتباعهما وصودروا .

وكان عبد العزيز عالما بالفقه على مذهب الامامية كال بيته ولا سيما جدّه وقد نسب اليه الشيخ عماد الدين

5 ابن² كثير الكتاب المسمّى البلاغ الاكبر والناموس³ الاعظم

في اصول الدين وروهم في ذلك وانما هو تصنيف ابيه على

والده⁴ النعمان . قال ابن كثير وقد رآه على هذا الكتاب

القاضي ابو بكر الباقلاني . قال ابن كثير وفيه من الكفر ما لا

يصل ابليس مثله كذا قال .

10 قاسم بن عبد العزيز بن محمّد بن النعمان المغربي الاصل

امامي من المائة الخامسة يكنى ابا محمّد ولّى بعد ابن ابي

العوّام في يوم الاحد رابع جمادى الاولى سنة ثمانى عشرة وقرى

سجله بالقصر وبالجوامع ببصر ولقب قاضي القضاة ثقة الدولة

امين الائمة شرف الاحكام وجلال الاسلام فباشرها الى

15 ان عزل في [يوم الاحد الخامس والعشرين من]⁵ رجب

سنة تسع عشرة وكانت مدّته سنة وشهرين وايامًا وهذه

¹ دمهما ؟

² Ms. Paris 5893 > .

³ Ibid والقاموس .

⁴ Ibid والدة .

⁵ Ms. Paris 5893, 2152.

الولاية الاولى . واستقرّ عوضه عبد الحاكم بن سعيد بن مالك الفارقيّ . ثم اعيد قاسم في السادس من ذى القعدة سنة سبع وعشرين فنظر في الاحكام والمظالم والدعوة واستخلف في هذه الولاية القضاعيّ فتاب عنه في هذه الولاية الثانية . ولم يكن قاسم محمود السيرة لكنّه طالّت مدّته الى ان صرف⁵ في المحكّم سنة احد واربعين واربعمئة وكانت ولايته الثانية ثلاث عشرة سنة وشهرا واربعة ايام وقد تقدّم ذكر الابيات التي هجى بها هو وابن عبد الحاكم الفارقيّ . (ابو القسم) بن محمد بن النعمان هو ابن عبد العزيز المذكور قبله .

V. THE ARABIC TEXT OF AHMAD IBN SA'D AL-GHUMRĪ FROM
THE PARIS MS. No. 1850, fol. 201b.

10 قضاة الدولة العبيديّة .

في حكمة دخلت بنو عبيد لمصر بالقضاة كلّ زميد
عام ثمان بعد خمسين سنة من بعد ثلاثمئة معيّنة
وابطلوا قضاتها السنّيّة وحكموا قضاتها الشيعيّة
وكان قاضي واحد بمصر يدعونه قاضي القضاة المصريّ
مجتهدا او مالكيّ او حنفيّ او شافعيّ في حكمه لم يحف¹⁵
جعلوا بمصر اربعا من القضاة اولها فالمالكيّ في قضاة
ثاني نصيريّ ثالث اماميّ ورابع اساعيليّ للاحكام

أوّل من جلس فى مصر القضاة اربعةً كلّ دعى قاضى القضاة
 ودولة القضاء من شيعتهم سبعون مذهب الى دولتهم
 أوّل قضا قضاة مصر داني منهم على ولد النعمان
 ثمانى السنين للمشيّع
 5 محمّد احوه اعوام اربعة وثلاثى العام بمصر ذو سعة
 وكان ذا مذهب اسماعيلى خالف السنة والتاويل
 وابن اخى الحسين هو ابن لعلى خمسة اعوام ونصفا ابتلى
 بالضرب والتجريح فى مصر قتل وجسمه حرق بنار تشتعل
 وكان ذا أوّل قاضى قتلا بمصر والجسم لنار يُصلّى
 10 تولى ابو القاسم هو عبد العزيز اربعة ايام وشهر الاعزيز
 أوّل قاض بالسيوف قد حُرس خوفا ومنها صار دمه منبجس
 وأوّل القضاة فى مصر افردا مكان للمودع فيه اقعدا
 ومالك بن سعيد لهو الفارقى سبع سنين دون سدس قد بقى
 ذا امره الحاكم قال اكتبنا سبّا لاصحاب النبى المجتبى
 15 محمّد فى سائر الجوامع والسوق والخانات والمجامع
 فقام قد كتب الترضى عنهم ولعنة الله لمن يبغضهم
 اذا بلغ الحاكم ذا له صلب وضربه وعنقه فوراً ضرب
 وقتل معه حمزة نائبه على القضا لانه صاحبه

ولى احمد ابن محمد العوام ثلاث عشر عام فيه سامى
 تنقص منها اربعون يوما ولم يكثافوا ان عزلوه لوما
 وابن عبد العزيز قاسم ثلاثة اشهر ونصف حاكم
 وابن سعيد الفارقى عبد الحكم تسعة اعوام وربعها وانقص
 عاد له قاسم تمّ عاما وبعده من القضاة قاما
 ونجل يحيى واسمه يحيى الشهابى عشرة اعوام وسدسا للمهاب
 وريث في القابة قاضى القضاة كذا امير الامراء داعى الدعاة
 بل شرف الحكام ثقة الدولة والامراء يسمعون قوله
 محمد ابن سلامة القضاى اقام عامه بلا نزاع
 عاد له قاسم وهى الثالث اقام عاما ذاهبا بالباعثة 10
 وكان ليس ضابطا احكامه خلع وبالسيف فغلغوا هامه
 محمد البيزورى وهو ابو الحسن قاضى وزير سبعة اعوام حسن
 اول قاضى قدّولى الوزارة مع القضا بمصر للاشارة
 بها وبالقضاء اخلعوا عليه اول قاضى جمعا اليه
 واول القضاة والوزر اقتل بمصر فى دمه فصار متجبدل 15

III. THE TEXT OF IBN HAJAR IN TRANSLATION.

[p. 238] Al-Nu'mān ibn Muḥammad ibn Maṣṭūr ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥayyūn' al-Isma'īlī al-Maghribī, called Abū Ḥanīfa. His genealogy has been given in the account of his son 'Alī. He came to Egypt in company with Al-Mu'izz from the Maghrib. He acted as *cadi* in the army of al-Mu'izz;² but the latter allowed Abū Ṭāhir to remain in his position. The first appointment given to al-Nu'mān was to pronounce judgment in the case of the domain which Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Mādhari'ī had made a wakf. This he had sold to pay a debt, and 'Umar ibn al-Ḥasan al-'Abbāsī had bought it. The sons of this one then sold it to Faraj al-Ḥakamī. Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥammād asserted that it was wakf. The matter came before al-Khaṣībī, who adjudged the property to be a wakf, [p. 239, 1.] This judgment was then brought to Abū Ṭāhir, who ratified it; but Faraj al-Ḥakamī³ appealed (from the judgment) to al-Mu'izz, who commanded al-Nu'mān ibn Muḥammad to look into the matter. Al-Nu'mān caused the testimony that had been given to Abū Ṭāhir to be laid before him according to the contents of the book, i. e. the book containing the wakfs. Al-Ḥusain ibn Kahmash and 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn A'yan testified to the statements made before Abū Ṭāhir and mentioned above. Death, however, overtook al-Nu'mān before the case could be finished. He died on the . . . ⁴. He lived in Miṣr, but went every morning from there to al-Kāhira.

Abū Ṭāhir remained in his position; but al-Mu'izz gave him as assistant 'Alī ibn al-Nu'mān, who rendered judgment in the Jāmi' al-'Atik⁵ also after the death of al-Mu'izz. Al-'Azīz gave 'Alī ibn al-Nu'mān ibn Muḥammad jurisdiction over the mint

¹ Not Ḥayyān, as Brockelmann, *l. c.*, vol. i, p. 187, has.

² It was customary for the *cadi* to accompany an army in order to decide any case that might arise; see, e. g., al-Makrīzī in Blochet, *Rev. de l'Or. Latin*, vol. ix, p. 188.

³ The Mss. have **التحكيم**; I have ventured to read **الحكمي**; al-Dhahabī, *Al-Tanbīh*, p. 188.

⁴ Mss. 2149 and 5893 have here a sign that looks like the Arabic numeral 11; but it may merely indicate a blank in the original. Ms. 2152 has, in fact, such a blank space. Ibn Khallikān says "the first of Rajab."

⁵ I. e., the mosque of 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣī, the oldest one in Fustāṭ.

and the mosque.¹ Thereupon he came to the mosque and decided cases. Abū Ṭāhir was present in his own majlis and gave judgment there as was his custom. Many notaries, lawyers and merchants were there also who brought their cases before Abū Ṭāhir. These were conducted to the chief of police, who imprisoned them. 'Alī ibn al-Nu'mān interceded for them and they were allowed to go free. Abū Ṭāhir continued the custom of sitting in the mosque; his health was good until he took cold and his side was lamed; he became also too weak to move around unless carried. One day at the beginning of Ṣafar 366 al-'Azīz was out riding, and Abū Ṭāhir, having been carried [p. 240, 1] near to the Bāb al-Diyāfa, met him. Abū Ṭāhir asked al-'Azīz to give his own son Abū al-'Alā al-Ṭāhir permission to act as his substitute, on account of his own weakness. But al-Mu'izz² answered: "There is nothing left but to dismiss him." Three days afterwards he deposed Abū Ṭāhir and appointed 'Alī ibn al-Nu'mān, as is related in the history of that man.

'Alī ibn al-Nu'mān, ibn Muḥammad ibn Maṣṣūr ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥayyūn al-Maghribī al-Kairuānī al-Ismā'īlī, of the 4th century, was born in Rajab 328, and came with al-Mu'izz from al-Maghrib, and was ordered by him to preside as judge. He and Abū Ṭāhir acted in that capacity, the witnesses testifying before both; but the confrontation of the witnesses took place before Abū Ṭāhir.³ When al-Mu'izz died, the jurisdiction over the mint and over the two mosques was given to 'Alī ibn al-Nu'mān. He came to the Jāmi' al-'Atīk, and held judgment there. But Abū Ṭāhir continued to hold court in the Jāmi' and he discharged some men.⁴ However, he became partially lamed, and

¹ This ought probably to be "the two mosques"—as was the case with his son 'Alī, and as Ibn Khallikān says.

² All the texts have "al-Mu'izz." It must be "al-'Azīz." De Slane translates "to make cat's meat of." See his note to Ibn Khallikān, vol. iii, p. 573.

³ I imagine that this is the meaning of the phrase *عندهما والاجتماع عند أبي الطاهر*.

⁴ This might be the translation of the reading in Ms. 2149. Another possibility is the reading *وعدل الجماعة* "and to arbitrate [in] the assembly."

al-Mu'izz turned over the (whole) office to Abū 'Alī ibn al-Nu'mān, two days before the end of Šafar 366. Abū 'Alī then rode together with a large multitude to the Jāmi' al-Azhar, being clothed with the robe of office.² He was invested with the sword, and before him were placed robes in covers to the number of seventeen.³ [p. 241, 1] His patent was read in the jāmi' while he stood upright. Whenever the name of al-Mu'izz was mentioned, or the name of one of his family, he gave a sign that all should bow low.⁴ Then he went to the Jāmi' al-'Atīk in Miṣr and found the preacher, 'Abd al-Samīl, awaiting him in the jāmi'. The time had already come for him to go out. He then read the Friday prayers, and his brother Muḥammad published his diploma. In this, it was stated that he was appointed cađi over Egypt and its dependencies, preacher, Imām, inspector of gold and silver, of weights and measures. Whereon he returned to his house, and there came to him a multitude of notaries, claimants, merchants, and the chief men of the land. No one kept away from him. In his patent it was said: "When one of the parties to a suit brings a case before thee and the

¹ So the Mss.; delete.

² The khil'a of the cađi was made of wool, without any border; generally of white, the inside being of green (Quatremère, *l. c.*, vol. ii, part 2, note 73). Al-Jauhar, when he came to Egypt, ordered the preachers to wear white, evidently an anti-'Abbāsīd practice. See Ibn Khallikān, vol. i, p. 344; JA. 1836, 3, p. 51, Abū-l-Maḥāsīn, ii, 408. The Alid colour was in reality green; but the Carmathians, also, adopted white. See de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahreïn*, Leiden, 1886, p. 179. These garments were part of the insignia of office, and are even called خَلْعَة Dozy, *Dictionnaire . . . des noms des vêtements*, p. 14. They

were probably kept in the خزانة الكسوف, which was a separate department in the caliph's palace. See al-Kalkashandī, *l. c.*, p. 175.

Abū Yūsuf al-Anṣārī (see p. 230, note 4) is said by Ibn Khallikān to have been the first to give a distinctive dress to the learned (Ibn Khallikān, vol. iv, p. 273).

³ These numerous robes had probably no further significance; they were nothing more than presents.

⁴ The text has وما = $\sqrt{\text{ومي}}$ i. e. "indicavit aliquem." See Dozy, vol. ii, p. 844; de Goeje in the glossary to al-Tabarī, p. DXLVIII. Al-Ḥākim ordered the people to stand up at the mention of his name. Ibn Iyās, *Ta'rīkh Miṣr*, p. 53.

other party brings it before some one else, do thou cause the two to come to thee." He knew that this had reference to his withholding cases from Abū Ṭāhir. From that day he did so withhold cases from Abū Ṭāhir.

Upon the third day after his appointment 'Alī ibn al-Nu'mān rode to the Jāmi' al-'Atīk, with a red basket before him.¹ He took his station where the people were sitting in rows near the Ḥalakat al-Zawāl.² There came to him the notaries, the officials, the lawyers and merchants—a very great multitude. He acted as judge for the people, addressed the agents, and read to them the Sura "al-'Aṣr"³ impressing upon them the fear of God. He then asked for the notaries and for the cadī, Abū Ṭāhir. Al-Ḥusain ibn Kahmash, the chief notary at that time, said: "He is still in office." Alī replied, "Let him give judgments in his own house and not sit in the mosque." Abū Ṭāhir heard of this; he discharged the lawyers and he was practically deprived of his functions. Some people, however, interested themselves in Abū Ṭāhir, [p. 242, 1] and procured an edict to the effect that he might still act as judge. The notaries were collected and the edict read to them. This intended action coming to the ears of Abū Ṭāhir, he forbade it, saying: "What can I do? All my strength is gone." Al-Ḥusain ibn Kahmash answered him: "May God recompense the cadī." 'Alī ibn al-Nu'mān desisted from demanding the diwān al-hikm; and did not ask or demand it further—[thus showing] his good manners and his kind actions. When Abū Ṭāhir desisted, 'Alī ibn al-Nu'mān had a free hand in his jurisdiction.

¹ I do not know to what this refers. Al-Shirāzī speaks of a قَبْطَرٌ (κάμπτρα) being placed in front of the cadī, while he is holding court (*al-Tanbīh*, p. 815, 10; cf. 321, 5, 8). Does the text here refer to this?

² وجلس في مجلس الصف عند حلقة الزوال. I am afraid that there are some technical terms here which I do not understand. حلقة may mean "the enceinte" of a building or a gathering of students around a professor who is teaching them, or even the hall where such teaching is given (see Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans Mamlouks*, vol. i, part 2, p. 197). زوال may mean "the afternoon." "And he took his seat in the Majlis al-Ṣaff at the afternoon assembly."

³ Sura 103.

'Alī then appointed his brother Muḥammad and al-Ḥasan ibn Khalīl the Shāfi'ite jurist; the latter with the special provision that he was to deliver judgments according to the Ismā'īlī rite, not according to the Shāfi'ite. This latter was accustomed to sit in judgment when Muḥammad was otherwise engaged; for 'Alī had placed his brother Muḥammad over Tinnīs, Dami-etta, Faramā, etc. Muḥammad went out there and appointed deputies; then they returned and 'Alī put up a curtain in his house.¹ Now when al-'Azīz went forth in 368 to make war upon the Carmathians,² 'Alī went along with him, putting his brother Muḥammad in his own place. Many people spread the report that al-'Azīz [had superseded him]. Muḥammad thereupon wrote to his brother about the rumor. 'Alī at once procured an order from al-'Azīz to the chief of police, Ḥasan ibn al-Kāsim, that he should look into the matter; but Ḥasan answered allaying his fear,³ and reporting that the position of Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān was gaining strength.

Formerly the notaries had been accustomed to sit in the jāmi', according to the prescription of the cadis before him—in winter in the maḳṣūra⁴ and in summer near to the window; but the

¹ For what purpose this is mentioned here I do not know; the meaning of حُجْر is clear. Perhaps he wished in this way to have more privacy.

² At first, the Carmathians were used by the Fātimids in reducing Syria to Shī'a rule; later, the two became bitter enemies, the Carmathians making common cause with the Abbāsids at Baghdād. See de Goeje, *Mémoire*, etc., pp. 133 seq. On the victory of al-'Azīz over them in 368, see *ibid.*, p. 192.

³ Reading *بعدم الخوف*; if *الخوض*, "advising him not to press the matter."

⁴ The maḳṣūra was a small space partitioned off by a grille and near to the minbar of the mosque, in which the ruling prince took his place to say his prayers and to hear the khuṭbah (Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans Mamlouks*, vol. i, part i, p. 164; vol. ii, part i, p. 283). The 'Umayyad Caliph Mu'āwīya preached from such a maḳṣūra (Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, vol. ii, p. 41). On such a maḳṣūra in the Azhar, see Van Berchem, *l. c.*, p. 47. A description of the maḳṣūra in the mosque of 'Amr in Foṣṭāṭ is given by Ibn Duḳmāk كتاب الانتصار بواسطة عقد الامصار (Cairo, 1809, A.H.), part iv, p. 98, below. Al-Maḳrīzī, in speaking of the chief cadi's procedure (*al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. i, p. 19).

distance induced 'Alī to order that they should sit near to him, [p. 243, 1] two to his right and two to his left, and that they should thus see whatever judgment he gave. It was customary for his scribe to charge for the documents which he signed. But after 'Alī ibn al-Nu'mān had been in office for a year he grew to dislike this arrangement and forbade it. During his tenure a man apostatized. With the permission of al-Azīz, 'Alī struck off his head.

Ibn al-Nu'mān was on very friendly terms with al-'Azīz, as his father had been with al-Mu'izz—sitting with him, eating with him, riding out with him, and conversing intimately with him. The vizier, Jacob ibn Killis, opposed him and the cadi tried to ignore the vizier. This went so far that 'Alī could not give any judgment, nor appoint an assessor¹ to the cadi nor a deputy, without the vizier taking a hand in the matter. The cadi did away with the attendance (of litigants) in the mosque, because it enabled the vizier to decrease his power. When the vizier was put under arrest, 'Alī ibn al-Nu'mān returned to his former custom.

He was the first to have the title chief cadi over the whole of Egypt, because in his diploma it was stated that all the provinces (of Egypt) were under his jurisdiction.²

Muhammad ibn al-Nu'mān ibn Muhammad ibn Maṣṣūr ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥashūb³ al-Maghribī al-Kairuānī the Imāmī, of the fourth century, born on the third of Ṣafar 340 [A.H.] in the

وَبَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ خَمْسَةٌ مِنَ الْحِجَابِ اثْنَانِ بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ 403) says: واثنان على باب المقصورة. The place in which the vizier gave audience was divided by a grille into two parts. All who had business with him assembled in the قاعة; but he sat in the maḥṣūra, which was separated from the rest of the room by a heavy grille. This was, no doubt, done to protect his person from sudden attacks. See Ravaisse, *Essai sur l'histoire et sur la typographie du Caire* in the *Mémoires . . . de la Mission Archéologique Française du Caire*, vol. i, p. 54.

¹ On the functions of the عَدْل see Quatremère, *l. c.*, vol. ii, part 8, p. 111; Ibn Khallikān, vol. ii, p. 367, note 5, and Dozy, vol. ii, p. 103.

² Ms. Berlin 9819 adds five lines of poetry by him on the authority of al-Musabbihī, part of which are given by Ibn Khallikān. It adds also that he died on Rajab 6th, 374 [A. H.]

³ Of course, the proper reading here is حَيَوْن in place of حَسُوب.

Maghrib. He came to al-Kāhira in company of his father with al-Mu‘izz. He represented his brother Alī ibn al-Nu‘mān towards the end of the latter’s incumbency. After the death of his brother, al-‘Azīz endowed him with full powers, [p. 244, 1] on a Friday, seven days from the end of Rajab 374. He received investiture and donned the sword. On the same day he went to Miṣr in a palanquin,¹ resting upon a mule because of a sickness from which he was suffering. He entered the mosque, but was unable to sit down; so he returned to his dwelling. However, his son, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, the children of his brothers, and a large attendance, remained seated in the mosque until, after the usual Friday prayers, the diploma was read out appointing him cadi over the whole of Egypt, Alexandria, the two sacred places, and the provinces² of Syria. He was also clothed with the functions of leading prayer, of assaying gold and silver, and of controlling weights and measures. In his diploma both his father and his brother were mentioned with praise. Then he sent his nephew al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī to the jāmi‘ to sit there as judge and informed the lieutenants of the provinces³ (of this). On Friday, Jumāda 1, 375, he betrothed his son ‘Abd al-‘Azīz to the daughter of Jauhar, the kā'id, in the majlis of (the caliph) al-‘Azīz. The gift to the bride’s parents amounted to 3,000 dīnārs. The two witnesses were Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdallāh al-‘Utakī and ‘Abdallāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Rajā. al-‘Azīz made presents to the husband, and Muḥammad ibn al-Nu‘mān went away with a large and select assembly of his friends. His son ‘Abd al-‘Azīz was appointed his substitute, his nephew al-Ḥusain ibn ‘Alī being removed. Al Musabbihī says that Muḥammad ibn al-Nu‘mān was a good judge, well educated, [p. 245, 1] and learned in history. Al-‘Utakī,⁴ in his history, says while al-Mu‘izz was

¹ On the ḡubba or palanquin, see Ibn Khallikān, vol. iii, p. 846, note 10.

² Syria was divided into five provinces (أجناد), to wit: Damascus, Emesa, Ḳinnesrīn, Jordan, Palestine. See Lane, p. 470a.

³ خلفاء النواحي. On the meaning of *Khalīfa* (lieutenant), see the article of de Goeje referred to in Van Berchem, *l. c.*, p. 755. Al-Shīrāzī (*al-Tanbīh*, p. ۳۱۳) speaks of the Khalīfa of a cadi.

⁴ I have adopted the reading of Ms. 5893, and believe that the reference is to Abū ‘Abd al-Rahmān Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdallāh al-‘Utakī, author of a *Ta’rīkh al-Maghariba*; Al-Dhahabī, *Mushtabih*, p. 845. The title alone is mentioned in Ibn al-Faraḡī, *Kitāb ‘Ulamā al-Andalus* (Madrid 1891-2), p. 311.

still in the Maghrib he ordered the cadi of his land, al-Nu'mān ibn Muḥammad, to make some silver astrolabes, (advising him) to seat some trustworthy person near the workman. Al-Nu'mān placed there his own son Muḥammad. When the work was finished, he gave it to al-Mu'izz, who asked him, "Whom didst thou place by the side of the workman?" He answered, "My son Muḥammad." Upon this the caliph said, "He shall be the cadi of Egypt." Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān related: "When al-Mu'izz saw me—I was then quite a young fellow—he said to his son, 'Here is thy cadi.'" Al-Musabbihī relates: "Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān during his term of office appointed thirty assessors."¹ He says further: "Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān was very subtle in his judgments. A woman once came to him demanding her rights of her husband, which he refused to render to her. She then asked the cadi to put her husband under lock and key, which he ordered to be done. Looking at her, he found her to be comely and in a gleeful mood. When her husband went to the prison, the cadi ordered that she should be locked up with him. At this she was very angry; but the cadi said to her: 'We have locked him up to satisfy your rights; we lock you up to satisfy his.' When the woman found this out she withdrew the complaint, and as she went away the cadi said: 'I saw that she was delighted at his being locked up, and I was afraid that she would have leisure for wrong-doing.'"

He adds: The vizier ibn Killis was much opposed to the sons of al-Nu'mān in regard to their judgments. It happened that al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥusain ibn 'Alī ibn Yaḥyā al-Dakḳāk married [p. 246, 1] his son to an orphan known by the name Bint al-Dībājī with the permission of Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān.² One of the witnesses, Bakr ibn Aḥmad al-Mālikī, arose and charged that the contract was fraudulent, as the girl was not of age. He was persistent in this statement. Ibn al-Nu'mān, however, decided "It has been proven by her own assertion that she is of age." She was taken to the *qaṣr* and the affair was brought to al-'Azīz. She

¹ I suppose that this is the meaning of *عدل* here. It might also signify "he reconciled," i. e., litigants, which was one of the functions of a cadi.

² Wards in chancery could be married only with the permission of a judge. Al-Shirāzī, *l. c.*, p. 19.

was examined and found not to be of age. The cadi was therefore asked to annul the marriage ; whereon the vizier cited both cadi and witnesses before him and having sworn them, said : "May his honor declare this marriage annulled and refuse to receive the testimony of these witnesses." The cadi did so, putting out a document to this effect. In it the statement was made that it had been proven to him that the girl was not of age. The vizier disapproved of the witnesses as they had been negligent in their conduct. This happened towards the end of Jumāda 1, 375. He (the vizier ?) commanded that the property of the young woman should be placed in chancery, though he deducted from it a quarter for her maintenance.

(On another occasion,) it was reported to Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān that a Christian had turned Mohammedan, that he had changed back again, though he had passed his 80th year. He was asked to recant, but refused. His case was reported to al-'Azīz, who had him turned over to the chief of police. He then ordered the cadi to send him four witnesses who should induce him to repent. Should he so repent he was to have (from al-'Azīz) 100 dīnārs ; but if he persisted, he was to be killed. He rejected Islām and was killed, his body being cast into the Nile.¹

A man of the Walad 'Akīl ibn Abī Tālib² once cited before him his wife who had a daughter with her, of whom the man declared he was not the father. Ibn al-Nu'mān tried to dissuade him, but was unable to do so. [p. 247, 1] The case was brought before al-'Azīz, who commanded the cadi to have the

¹ On the treatment of apostates from Islām, as recommended by the various schools, see Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, vol. ii, p. 215 ; Tornauw, *l. c.*, p. 298. Al-Hākim, of course, handled with great severity those who were enemies of the Alid pretensions. It is related that a Syrian once affirmed that he did not know who 'Alī was. Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān did the bidding of his master, had the man imprisoned and then sent four notaries to question him. After that, he was brought before al-Hākim, who had his head cut off. See de Sacy, *Les Druses*, vol. i, p. CCXCVIII.

² 'Akīl was a cousin of the prophet. See al-Nawāwī, *كتاب تهذيب الاسماء* ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 426 ; Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den genealogischen Tabellen*, p. 84 ; Sprenger, *Mohammad*, vol. i, p. 146 ; al-Dhahabī, *al-Mushtabih*, p. 368.

*li'ân*¹ pronounced between them. The cadi cited them in Dhul-Ka'da 378 to the Jāmi' al-'Atīk; the witnesses came and he warned the husband, who, however, insisted upon the *li'ân*.¹ So the cadi pronounced it between them and thus separated them.

His son 'Abd al-'Azīz was appointed judge in his place.² He presided on Mondays and Thursdays. At the beginning of the year 381 he appointed many of the nobles his assessors; and in Šafar 382 he appointed a man named Ja'far in the jāmi' to deliver fetwas according to the Meccan rite. But the faḳīhs of the jāmi' rose up in tumult against him. When the cadi heard of this, he took some of them and sent three of them around (the city) riding upon camels.³ As the position of the cadi, Abd al-'Azīz, became more secure, he ceased altogether to go to the jāmi', holding court in his own dwelling place. No one spoke to him without addressing him as "Our lord".

Now when (the caliph) al-'Azīz died, Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān remained in his house in al-Ḳāhira, and had his son 'Abd al-'Azīz preside at the court in Miṣr every Monday and Thursday. Ibn Zūlāk says: I have never seen of any cadi in Egypt what I have seen of Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān, nor have I heard the like of it in regard to any cadi in 'Irāk. He deserved this reputation, for he was learned, careful and cautious, distinguished in bearing and in conduct. Abu 'Abdallāh al-Samarḳandī⁴ says of him:

¹ The *li'ân* is the curse which the husband pronounces upon his wife if he suspects her of adultery, but has not sufficient proof to substantiate his charge, or if the fourth of the necessary witnesses is wanting. The formula that he uses is from the Koran, Sura xxiv, 4-9 **لعنة الله**

عليها ان كنت من الكاذبين, upon which the whole ordinance is based. The wife could do the same in regard to her husband. See the section **باب اللعان** in al-Shirāzī, l. c., pp. 233 et seq.; al-Sha'rānī. *Kitāb al-Mizān*, ii, 111; *Kashf al-Ghumma*, ii, 86. A portion of the passage in Bukhārī's *Šaḥīḥ* is translated by Goldziher in his *Muhammedanische Studien*, vol. ii, p. 235. See, further, Tornauw, l. c., p. 219; Querry, *Droit Musulman*, vol. i, p. 92, and Snouck-Hurgronje in ZDMG., vol. liii, p. 163.

² Ibn Khallikān (vol. ii, p. 365) mentions the fact that in Jumāda 1, 380 (July-August 990) Muḥammad appointed the celebrated astronomer 'Alī ibn Yūnus, the author of so-called *Hākimite Tables*, to act as 'adl.

³ I suppose that this was considered degrading for a man of position. Only the poor and the Bedouin ride on camels.

⁴ Ibn Kallikān has "Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ja'farī of Samarcand;" he, also, cites some more verses than ibn Ḥajar.

[p. 248, 1] He was unique in noble qualities, he was illustrious in honorable deeds and excellent.

His brilliancy gleamed and he pressed resolutely on, as gleams a polished sword.

When he gave judgment rectitude was his companion, when he gave awards beneficence was his colleague.¹

When he ascended the pulpit he was a veritable Kuss, when he was present at gatherings he was a true Khalil.²

Al-Musabbihī says he wrote many verses, but they do not evidence much power. Among the best are :

O thou who are like the full moon of heaven, when seven and five and two days have passed;³

O thou who art by nature perfect in beauty, thou engrossest my heart and keepest my eye from sleep.

Is there anything that is desirable in thy mouth for me ?⁴ If not, I must go off with the sandals of Hunāin.⁵

He adds : During his term of office he had a brutal fellow stoned who had committed adultery with an Alid woman. The man was stoned in the Sūḡ al-Dawābb near to the mosque of Ibn Ṭulūn in the year 392. But when increasing power came to him and his station became elevated, sickness took hold of him—gout and festering sores. He was ill most of the time,

¹ Some readings in the Mss. are undoubtedly wrong ; Berlin 9819 omits the lines altogether. In the first line of poetry, Paris 5893 has فضيلة, Ibn Khall. فضائله. For وحيد, Ibn Khall. has وحيد.

In the second line for اعتراما, Ibn Khall. has اعترما; in the third, Paris 5893 and Ibn Khall. والسواد والسداد. I have translated according to the emended text.

² According to de Slane (Ibn Khallikān, vol. iii, p. 573/4) the references here are to Kuss bishop of Najrān, and to al-Khalil ibn Aḥmad. Kuss was renowned for his eloquence, and the saying went : اخطب من قس (see Freytag, *Proverbien*, vol. iv, Index); Sprenger, *Mohammad*, vol. i, p. 102; Sprenger, *El-Mas'ūdi's* . . . "Meadows of Gold," i, p. 138. Al-Khalil was the founder of the science of prosody among the Arabs (Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, p. 37).

³ I. e., at the time of its fullness.

⁴ I. e., Can I expect any favour from thee?

⁵ I. e., disappointed. See the explanation in de Slane, *l. c.*, vol. iii, p. 573, note 8.

so that his son 'Abd al-'Azīz performed his judicial functions, kept the registers in his father's house and performed his other duties. Barjawān,¹ in spite of his rank, visited him every Thursday. He was very well-mannered, of fine stature, stout, well ridden, well groomed and perfumed, whether sitting in his majlis or riding out. Whenever he had to make a gift he gave much and he gave quickly.

His death happened on Tuesday evening, Ṣafar 4, [p. 249, 1] while he was still in office. Al-Ḥākim came, said the prayers over him in his house, and had him buried beneath its ḡubba. Afterwards his body was transferred to the cemetery. He had been in office fourteen years six months and ten days. There was found charged to him property to the amount of 36,000 dinārs belonging to orphans and others. The governor,² Barjawān, ordered all that was found to be seized, sending his secretary, Abū al-'Alā Fahd, a Christian, to seize this property, to give orders in regard to its sale, and to exact payment from the notaries in whose charge the property had been. He who could show a written document of the cadi was allowed to remain in possession of what he had; but he who could not show a written document of the cadi was fined,³ until half of the judgment was paid up. Then a settlement was made with the creditors at the rate of one-half. The judge further ordered that in future no money belonging to orphans or to persons absent should be deposited with any notaries. He then set apart a place in the Zukāk al-Ḳanādīl⁴ where this money should be deposited. Four notaries were to put a seal upon it, and it was not to be opened except in the presence of all of them. For some time the matter remained in this fashion. Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān, however, gave over to one of the notaries, 'Abdallāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Midādī, the money belonging to an orphan, and demanded a notarial document in regard to it. The notary

¹ On the eunuch Barjawān, the regent for the young caliph al-Ḥākim, see ibn Khallikān, vol. i, p. 253; Stanley Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt*, p. 124.

² The term حاكم acquired the meaning "governor;" then it was used for any ruler. See Van Berchem, *l. c.*, pp. 205, 420.

³ Read عزم for غرم in the text.

⁴ Ibn Duḡmāk, *l. c.*, p. 13, mentions ارقاق القناديل, but in Fustāṭ.

refused. Then Muḥammad said: "He is not the one who ought to write out such a document." It happened that al-Midādī died in the year 379, while holding many such deposits. Yazīd ibn al-Sanadī, the secretary of al-Ḥākim, had sent to him before his death [p. 250, 1] to get a receipt in regard to the moneys that he held. After his death, the greater part of this money was not found. So the cadi sold his house for 5,000 dīnārs and with this paid the deposits.

Al-Ḥusain ibn 'Alī ibn al-Nu'mān ibn Muḥammad ibn Maṣṣūr ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥayyūn (with unpointed *ha*, *ya*, silent *wau* with *ḥamma*, and at the end a *nūn*), al-Maghribī al-Isma'īlī of the fourth century. He was born in Maḥdiyya, two days before the end of Dhu-l-Ḥijja 353. When quite young he came with his father to al-Kāhira. He learnt a book on law by heart, and was so able as to become one of the imāms of the *Seveners*.¹ His uncle, Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān, appointed him judge in the *jāmi'*. Then he was deposed in favor of the former's son, 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Muḥammad. When Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān died, Egypt remained without a cadi for 19 days. Then Barjawān invited him by the order of al-Ḥākim and made him cadi; placing his cousin 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān over cases in appeal. This occurred at the end of Ṣafar or at the beginning of Rabi' I, 389. Al-Musabbiḥī gives the corrected date as Ṣafar 23rd. He says: Barjawān clothed him with a sword and with white linen² garments, he put on him a mantle and gave him a turban—both of them gilded.³ He caused him

¹ If this translation is correct, it will be necessary to read *أدب السبعية*. On these "Seveners" see Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology*, p. 42. Perhaps the correct reading is *الشبيعة*.

² I have translated in this fashion because of the note in Dozy, *Dictionnaire des Noms des Vêtements*, pp. 180, 1, s. v. *مقطع* pl. *مقاطع*. But

مقطوعة may be the same as the more usual *مقطعة*, of which de Goeje (Glossary to Tabarī, p. CDXXXIX) has collected a number of instances in the sense "vestimenta consuta."

³ Read here *مذهبيين*. It seems that the turban worn by jurists was thicker than that worn by ordinary Muhammadans. For that reason, a jurist is sometimes called *رب العمامة* or *صاحب عمامة* (Dozy, *Vêtements*, p. 307). The *طُرْمَة* or *طيلسان* (a veil) was origin-

to ride upon a mule¹ with two mules going before him. Before him were borne many fine garments. The diploma, which created him head *cadi* in Miṣr, al-Kāhira, Alexandria, Syria, [p. 251, 1] the two sacred places, the West and its provinces was read out while he remained standing. He was appointed leader in prayer² and controller of the markets.³ He rode to the jāmi' and he refused to receive a company of notaries who had served his uncle to the number of fourteen. Al-Musabbihī gives their names. After a month's time he received them and installed al-Husain ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir as judge in Miṣr and Mālik ibn Sa'id al-Fāriḳī in al-Kāhira. He made his brother al-Nu'mān inspector of weights and measures.⁴ This last one was also made *cadi* in Alexandria and Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī

ally worn only by the chief *cadi*, and became thus part of his investiture (*ibid.*, pp. 255, 279). Al-Nuwairi (quoted by Quatremère, *l. c.* vol. i, part i, p. 21) says distinctly in speaking of Mālik Sa'id, son of Baibars: خلع

على الاعيان والاكابر بالطراحات وما كان قبل ذلك يتخلع

بالطرحه الأعلى قاضي القضاة. See further citations *ibid.*; and cf. Sprenger, "Eine Skizze der Entwicklungsgesch. des muslimischen Gesetzes," in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, vol. x, p. 23. Evetts, *Coptic Churches*, ii, p. 120. This peculiar head-dress persisted down through Mameluke times, and is often referred to. See the account of Barbafeffa, secretary of the Venetian Ambassador in 1508 in Patton, *Hist. of the Egypt. Revol.* i, p. 62, and Joseph ibn Isaac Sambari's Hebrew account (end of the seventeenth century) in Neubauer, *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles*, i, 115.

¹ At a later time a special piebald mule was kept in the royal stables for the use of the chief *cadi*. See al-Kalkashandī, *l. c.*, p. 184; al-

Makrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*: ويقدم له من الاصطبلات برسم ركوبه على الدوام بغلة شهباء وهو مخصوص بهذا اللون من البغال دون ارباب الدولة.

² صلة pl. صلات may also mean "gifts," "donations." See de Goeje in the glossary to his edition of Balādhurī, p. 108. "Controller of gifts and donations?"

³ I. e., مكتسب.

⁴ The correct reading is المعيار as in Ms. 5893. العيان in the other Mss. is a mistake for العيار.

'Awwām responsible for the pensions. He who had charge of the property of orphans' was also intrusted with the accounts.

On Šafar 3, 391, while he was sitting in the *jāmi'* of Mišr expounding the law, the evening prayer was offered. It had just been commenced when a Maghribī from Andalusia came and attacked him. With the knife of a basket-maker he gave him two cuts, in the face and on the head. The man was caught, killed and hung up. From that day on al-Ḥusain was guarded by twenty armed men. Al-Musabbihī mentions this matter in his history while discussing the events of Muḥarram 2nd, 393. The *cadi* waited until his wound was healed; then he went to al-Ḥākim. He received investiture, was carried upon a mule, while another was led before him.

This al-Ḥusain was wounded while performing a *rak'a* [p. 252, '1] during the evening prayer. For this reason the guards were accustomed to take their station back of him with drawn swords until he had finished; then they said their prayers. Al-Musabbihī affirms that he was the first *cadi* to whom this happened. Al-Ḥākim gave orders that double the salary, presents and appanages² of his uncle should be given to al-Ḥusain. He made a condition, however, that al-Ḥusain should not touch even a single dirhem of money belonging to the people.³ He put him in office, invested him with the sword, caused him to ride on a mule, giving him the care of justice over his whole kingdom. He made him preacher and imām in the chief mosques;⁴ gave him the care of them and of other mosques; appointed him inspector of the mint, and of preaching, as well as chief reader and chief scribe at the evening levee. He was the first 'Ubaidi *cadi* to be preacher. On account of his poor health the people imagined that he would not preside at court, and that the

¹ Read *الايتم* with Ms. 5893.

² *اقتطاعات* either "apanages" (Quatremère, l. c., ii, p. 200), or "the revenues of his estate" (Dozy, vol. ii, p. 374).

³ I. e. money of orphans and the like, placed for safety in the *dīwān* of the *cadi*.

⁴ If the correct reading here is, as I suppose, *المساجد الجامعة*, the reference must be to the "cathedral mosques" (if such a barbarous term be permitted), where the Friday prayers were said. The older term was *masjid*. In course of time, any mosque was called a *jāmi'*. See the learned notes of Van Berchem in his *Corpus*, pp. 173, 765.

appointment was really meant for the son of his uncle Muḥammad, 'Abd al-'Azīz, because his father had preceded him as judge and had instructed him during his lifetime. Then a number of people made the complaint that there were deposits belonging to them in the *cadi's* *dīwān*.¹ The *cadi* cited his cousin Abd Al-'Azīz ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān, and wrote to his uncle Abū Tāhir ibn al-Musnadī in regard to the matter. He was told that his uncle had made free use of all this money, regarding it as a loan. Their reply displeased him, and he made a further investigation, sending Fahd ibn Ibrāhīm the Christian, the secretary of Barjawān, to examine into their accounts. So he took charge and investigated and compelled 'Abd al-'Azīz [p. 253, 1] to sell whatsoever his father had left. Then he sold all that he had, realizing from this more than 7,000 *dīnārs*. The secretary, however, had calculated the liability to be twice this sum. The *cadi*, sitting in the *kaṣr*, called the creditors and paid them the sums owed.

He then set apart in the *Zukāk al-Kanādīl* a special place for the moneys deposited with the *cadi* and placed there five notaries to register whatsoever was brought there and attested. He was the first to set aside a separate place for the care of moneys intrusted to the *cadi*. Previous to this all such property had been intrusted to the *cadi* in person or to his assessor. Al-Husain attended to all affairs with harshness and severity.² He was the first one to have the title chief *cadi* in his patent;³ his father being the first of the Egyptian *cadis* to be addressed by such a title. Al-Hasan al-Maghribī once brought a law case before him; but his tongue slipped while he was addressing the *cadi*. This angered the *cadi*, who sent him to the prefect of police and he was punished in the presence of the *cadi's* chamberlain with 1800 strokes. He was carried about the city in disgrace and died upon that same day. His bier was brought out, most of the people of the city came to see it, and honored his grave, praying for him but cursing the one that had done him injury. The *cadi* repented of his deed—but his repentance was too late.

¹ موضع الحكم. Cf. Dozy, vol. ii, p. 792.

² مهابة i. e. he inspired fear among people.

³ Or "in his protocols."

In Rajab 393 al-Ḥākim gave ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Muḥammad permission to try cases and to take testimony, though at the same time he confirmed al-Ḥusain in his positions. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz arranged that notaries should be present at his majlis, making the condition that they should not be present at the majlis of his cousin. In this manner the people were quite uncertain what to do. [p. 254, 1] If one party brought a case before al-Ḥusain, his opponent would bring the case before ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. When ‘Abd al-‘Azīz was present in the jāmi‘, the place of al-Ḥusain was quite deserted, so that the matter was much talked about. Al-Ḥākim then wrote a diploma in his own hand to the effect that trial cases should be brought only before al-Ḥusain. He ordered that no one should register judicial decrees upon the authority of anyone else; and that if anyone summoned a litigant who had already brought his case before al-Ḥusain, no one else could take charge of it.¹ This diploma was read before the assembly.² At this the cadī's heart rejoiced. His growing prominence did not cease until he reached the highest point of glory; so that he compelled the notaries to be present at his own house and in the jāmi‘, and whenever one of them absented himself he had him punished.³ It was his custom to have the contents of the documents he was to sign read in his presence before he added his own signature.

In spite of all this (harshness) he was very kind to men of learning. He used to reward them with flour and barley, etc., and would send them garments and other things. This lasted until al-Ḥākim ordered him to be removed from office in Ramaḍān 394. He knew nothing of this, remaining in his house, until someone came and told him that his cousin ‘Abd al-‘Azīz had been made cadī. He refused to believe it until it was substantiated. Thereupon he shut his door and remained in his house. His fear waxed [p. 255, 1] until on Muḥarram 6, al-

¹ For the meaning of لا يمكن احدا see the instances cited by de Goeje in the glossary to Ṭabari, p. CDLXXXIX.

² ملى, de Goeje, *ibid.*, p. CDXC.

³ لزمه جعل حبة؟ It is possible that the reading should be جعل حبة, i. e., he imposed a small fine.

Hākīm gave orders that he should be taken upon an ass in broad daylight and imprisoned; and at the beginning of the year 395 he was beheaded together with Abū Tāhir al-Maghāzili and the muezzin of the *kaṣr*. The bodies of the three were then burned near to the Bāb al-Futūḥ. One of the things that led al-Hākīm to disavow him was the story of the man whom the chief of police had beaten so that he died, as related previously.

Ibrāhīm ibn al-Raḳīḳ,¹ in his history of North Africa, has related the story of this al-Husain and al-Hākīm. He says (in the exact words): "And al-Hākīm killed his *cadi*, Husain ibn 'Alī, and had him burned in fire." It is said that one of the reasons of his killing him was that al-Hākīm had been very liberal to him;² but had made the condition that he should keep his hands off the people's money. A certain man who had a grievance sent a paper to al-Hākīm, in which he told him that when his father died he had left him 20,000 *dīnārs*, and that it had been placed in the *dīwān* of the *cadi* Husain. He (the son) was living for some time upon this money. He had come one day and asked for some of it; but the *cadi* told him that all that his father had left was spent. Al-Hākīm summoned the *cadi* and showed him the complaint. The *cadi* answered just as the complainant had averred, adding that whatever had been left by the man's father had been spent on the man's living. Al-Hākīm at once ordered the books of the *cadi* dealing with this matter to be brought. When this was done, al-Hākīm looked up the accounts of the man, and it turned out that he had received only a little of the actual sum. Most of it was found to be still due him. Al-Hākīm enumerated to the *cadi* the high offices he had given him, the various gifts and honors, and his having made the condition that al-Husain should not touch³ the people's money. He was afraid and terrified, and said, "Forgive me, and I shall do better." He went away

¹ Abū Ishāk Ibrāhīm ibn al-Kāsim al-Kātib al-Ḳairuānī al-Raḳīḳ al-Nadīm (Brockelmann, i, 155). His *Ta'rikh Ḳairuān* is not mentioned by Brockelmann; but it is cited by Nuwairī, 'Idhārī, Maḳrīzī, Maḳkāri, Ibn Khaldūn, Ḥāji Khalifa, etc. See Carl H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Gesch. Aegyptens*, i, 9. The present citation shows that Becker is right in placing his death later than 383 A.H. (the date given by Brockelmann).

² Cf. the expression: مَلَأَ عَيْنَهُ وَقَلْبَهُ.

³ Reading with Ms. 5893 التَعَرُّض.

with the man and paid him what was owing in the presence of witnesses. But al-Ḥākim bore him a grudge and had him thrown into prison. Then he was taken out upon an ass in broad daylight, the people looking on and following him until he came to the loggia, where he was beheaded and his body burnt.

He held the office of *cadi* for five years, seven months and eleven days. Al-Musabbihī says that he once pronounced the *li'ān* between a drunken man and his wife in the *Jāmi'* al-'*Atīk*, which was without precedent under the 'Ubaidites. 'Al-Ḥākim gave to the aforementioned *cadi* as a fief a house in the vicinity of the *Khalīj al-Ḥākīmī*.¹ When the Nile was high he went (in a boat) to this house; the notaries came to him by land upon their donkeys. Then he rode from it to the *Ḳaṣr* and returned; after which he went to his dwelling-place in the *Dār al-Ḥamrā*.

'Abd al-'*Azīz* ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'man ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Manṣūr ibn Ahmad ibn Ḥayyūn al-Kairuānī was an *Ismā'īlian* of the fourth century. He was born on the first of *Rabī'* 1, 355. He was appointed *cadi* on Thursday, *Ramaḍān* 16, 394, and the revision of judgments was given in his power. He was invested in the usual way, being carried upon a mule, while two other mules were led before him, and a trunk filled with garments was carried in front of him. He entered the *jāmi'*, a large assembly being present. His diploma was read out from the pulpit. His first act as judge was to dismiss all the notaries whom his uncle al-Ḥusain had been accustomed to receive, with the exception of Sharaf ibn Muḥammad al-Makrī, whom he appointed to write down his decisions and his law cases. In his protocols the following was his title:² "The Chief *cadi* 'Abd

¹ The Great Canal, variously called *Khalīj Miṣr*, *Khalīj Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, *Khalīj al-Ḥākīmī*, etc.; see *al-Khūṭaṭ* ii, 138; *Siyūṭī*, *Ḥusn*, i, 76; Ibn Iyās, *Ta'rīkh Miṣr*, p. 163, and de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte par Abd-Allaḥ*, p. 419, note 11.

² The titles here given are of interest. He is called the "Cadi of 'Abd Allāh," with reference to the Shī'ite pretensions of descent from 'Alī who is the *ولي الله* (Van Berchem, *l. c.*, p. 43). *Manṣūr* is part of the caliph's name: *Manṣūr abū 'Alī*. The formula *صلوة الله عليه وابنائہ الاکرمین*, to which is usually added *وعلى ابائہ الطاهرين* (*ibid.*, p. 25 et al.), has a like reference. When al-Jauhar came to *Fusṭāt*, he had the following words added at the end of the *Khuṭba*: "O my God! bless Muḥammad the chosen, 'Alī the accepted, Fāṭima the pure, and al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain, the two grandsons of the Apostle;

al-'Azīz cadi of 'Abdallāh and of his representative Mansūr Abū 'Alī the Imām al-Ḥākīm, commander of the faithful—may God bless him and his pure fathers—over Al-Kāhira of al-Mu'izz, Miṣr, Alexandria, the Two Holy Places, the districts of Syria, al-Raḥba, al-Rakka, the Maghrib, together with its provinces,

then whom thou hast freed from stain and thoroughly purified (الذين)

(اذهب الله عنهم الرجس وطهرهم تطهيرا). O my God! bless

the pure Imāms, ancestors of the Commander of the believers (اللهم)

” (وصل على الائمة الطاهرين ابا امير المؤمنين). In the interesting bit of Genizah poetry by one Solomon ben Joseph ha-Kōhēn (published by Julius H. Greenstone in *AJSL*, January, 1906), the Fāṭimids are also called הטהורים (line 8). There are a number of such references to peculiar Muhammadan titles and expressions, e. g., l. 5 המלך המלך الاعظم = הגדול (in line 9) the imam = הכהן 8a; the king = המלך 8b

a play upon the same word); 8b קצין = הראשון = השלמים

; אדם = חיות = חייהו דר מעונים; אמיר = الجيوش = צבאות

אשר חרבו מרוטה 1. 14a; السيد الاجل = ראש לכל ראשים 12a

cf. قاضي = ראש למחכמים 113; شيخ = זקן 1. 20; سيف الاسلام.

القضاة. In a notarial document written for the Chief Cadi al-Kāsim ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn al-Nu'mān (an account of which will be published in the *JQR.* for April, 1907) and referring to the rebuilding of one of the old synagogues in Cairo, the full title of al-Mustansir is given. It is interesting to compare the extent of the caliph's rule there mentioned with that to be found in the diploma of his cadi. He is described as :

امير المؤمنين على المعزية القاهرة الحروسية والشام والرقّة

والرحبة [والحرم] بين ومدينة حلب والقيروان [وسنها] جة ونواحي

المغرب [وما فتحه الله] عز وجل [وما يسر] فتحه لامير

المؤمنين من بلدان الشرق والمغرب. In the memoir mentioned

above, I have given all necessary explanations. Ibn Zūlāk in his *Wakāna* (Paris Ms. 1817, p. 47a) says :

الخلفاء الفاطمية يحكمون من مصر الى الشام الى حلب الفرات

الى مكة المشرفة الى القدس والخليل وصارت مصر والفرات

as well as whatsoever God has given into his power, and he has made easy to be conquered by the Commander of the Faithful (in the countries of the East and West)."¹

And 'Abd al-'Azīz nominated to be his successor as judge Mālik ibn Sa'īd al-Fāriqī, and in [matters relating to] petitions Ibn Abī 'Awwām. The notaries whom he had not received hung around his door; so he sent to them [saying]: "Court duties have increased greatly upon me and I shall need your assistance in receiving testimony. Each one of you must attend to his business; and whenever I need one of you for testimony, I will make an appointment with him." Then they left him. [p. 258, 1] But on the 17th day of Dhul-Ḥa'da he had them come and made them take an oath that they had made no efforts to find employment as notaries under his uncle, that they had neither bribed him nor otherwise induced him to appoint them.² They took the oath in regard to this, and he received them.

Al-Ḥākim caused 'Abd al-'Azīz to mount the minbar with him upon Fridays and upon festive occasions, as had been the custom of his predecessors. His power in legal matters extended and his station became exalted. He took his seat in the jāmi' and commenced to expound the work of his grandfather entitled "*The Basal Distinctions of the [Different] Schools of Law.*" During his occupancy al-Ḥākim made over to him the care of the Dār al-'Ilm³ which he had instituted. Al-Ḥākim [namely]

ببملكة واحدة. Al-Kuḏā'i, كتاب عيون المعارف (Paris Ms. 1490, fol. 141b): فصل في بيان المهديين. ومدة دولة المهديين ويقال لهم الفاطميون ايضا مائتان وسبعون سنة وحكمهم في مصر مائتا سنة وحكمهم في بلاد الشام وحلب وديار بكر ويمن مائة وثمانون.

¹ These words are added from Ms. 2152.

² The Ms. reading لا رشدة ولا عدوا (عروا) له seems impossible. I suggest the reading: لا رشوة ولا اغروه, and have translated accordingly.

³ The Dār al-'Ilm, or "House of Science," was founded in order to propagate Shi'ite teaching in Egypt. Al-Makrizī (*Khitaṭ* i, 458) has a circumstantial account of its foundation drawn from al-Musabbihī, who is evidently the authority followed by Ibn Ḥajar. The Dār al-'Ilm was opened on the 10th of the second Jumāda 395 A.H. and was closed by Ibn 'Abd al-Tāhir al-Afḍal ibn Amīr al-Juyūsh in the sixth century A.H. See, also, Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, vol. i, p. xxix.

had built and arranged it, and had placed in it many scientific works, throwing it open to the Faḳīhs, allowing them to sit in it doing whatsoever they pleased—copying, studying or reading; after it had been furnished, the hangings placed upon the doors, and the necessary arrangements made for its attendants and for the servants in charge of the furniture.

This ‘Abd al-‘Azīz was appointed to sit and to converse with al-Ḥākim. The cadi found it necessary to give his older son al-Ḳāsim permission to participate in his legal functions at the *jāmi‘*, where he sat to hear cases and to decide disputes. People were accustomed to take cases from him to his father and from his father to him. His younger son he ordered [p. 259, 1] to verify the documents which people brought, and to render decisions in a court held in his own dwelling. In addition, al-Ḥākim appointed him (‘Abd al-‘Azīz) to administer the estate of his cousin Ḥusain ibn ‘Alī ibn al-Nu‘mān, after that one had been killed; so he took charge of all his property. He did the same with the estate of Abu Maṣṣūr al-Jauzī, one of the prominent men of his reign. He preferred the cadi as prayer-leader over a number of his assistants; the custom having come into vogue that the caliph alone should lead them in prayer. He commanded him to forbid men and women to promenade in the streets on the ‘Āshūrā festival;² it being their (i. e. Alid) custom to send out women and others who poured forth lamentations, who wept for al-Ḥusain, and who chanted dirges in the streets. The crowds were accustomed to stretch forth their hands to the goods of the merchants. This having come to the ear of al-Ḥākim, he commanded the cadi to forbid their going about in the streets and [to order] that they should only lament and chant in the open country.³

It happened that a certain Kutāmī⁴ owed a certain sum but refused to pay it. It having been in his possession during a bad

¹ Or “to register.”

² On the ‘Āshūrā festival, see the data which I have collected in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* s. v.

³ I. e. the space between Cairo and Jabal al-Muḳaṭṭam, called in al-Maḳrīzī’s time “The Smaller Ḳarāfa.” See *al-Khiṭaṭ*, ii, p. 455.

⁴ The Kutāma were a Berber tribe. ‘Ubaid Allāh, the founder of the Fāṭimid dynasty, was a Kutāmī. See *al-Istakhri*, ed. de Goeje, p. 39, below.

year,¹ he had appropriated it for himself. The case came to the attention of the *cadi*, who sent a messenger to the man; but [the messenger] was spurned. The matter was then brought to the attention of al-Ḥākim, who ordered the Kutāmī to be dragged before the *cadi* in Fustāt. Then he was brought on foot to al-Kāhira and compelled to give up that which was due. Al-Ḥākim [also] entrusted to the *cadi* the care of the mosques, the handling of the waqfs, the collection of the products [belonging to them] and the application of them [p. 260, 1] as he should think well. This he did to the best of his ability, detailing for the purpose two tellers who should pass upon accounts.

The *cadi* betrothed his two sons to the daughters of the *kā'id* Faḍl ibn Ṣāliḥ. The ceremony was held in the castle, the marriage contract being for four thousand dīnārs which al-Ḥākim accorded from the public treasury. He bestowed upon them ready-made robes of honor and sixteen double pieces of cloth. The two were carried upon saddled mules, similar ones being led before them.

The *cadi* was severe in his judgment; his authority was great, and he exercised authority over all the people of the kingdom. He gave orders that those notaries who should absent themselves in the morning up to the time of the majlis on Mondays and Thursdays should be mulcted in a heavy fine. His delegate at court, Mālik ibn Sa'īd, asked him to appoint al-Khalīl ibn al-Khalīl in his place, as something had happened to him preventing him from riding or from going to court. This request he granted; though this had not been permitted to any other, that a delegate should name his own substitute in the city.

Al-Musabbihī relates in his history—when detailing the events of the year 397 [A.H.]—the following circumstances, the gist of which is: 'Alī ibn Sulaimān al-Munajjim,² one of the intimates of the commander-in-chief al-Ḥasan [p. 261, 1] ibn Jauhar, told him that the *cadi* was visiting al-Ḥusain ibn Jauhar the *kā'id* in his dwelling upon one of the Christian's fast days. He found there Abū al-Ḥasan al-Rasī,³ al-Munajjim and their

¹ The reading in the text is difficult. In lieu of it, I would suggest

وكان عندة شدة بأس وعجرفة.

² Or "the astrologer."

³ The reading of the name is not clear in the Mss.; but see al-Dhahabī, *al-Tanbih*, p. 246; Kosegarten, *Chrestomathie*, p. 121.

attendants. A servant came in to say that Abū Ya'qūb al-Kiṣṭās, the physician, was at the door. He was invited to come in, the company being at table. They made him welcome and a number of dishes were placed before him. Then the table was cleared and drinks were brought, also the fruits and scents belonging thereto. They fell to until they became drunk. The *cadi* then went away; while the *kā'id* and al-Rasī fell asleep. Abū Ya'qūb, the physician, remained in a portico which he had built in this place—the portico overlooked a large stretch of water¹—drinking and enjoying himself until he was overcome by drunkenness. They then went out looking for his mule. The mule of al-Rasī was brought, but he refused to mount it. The servants begged him to return to his place until his own mule should be brought. So he went back to where al-Rasī was, and slept at his side. Then one of the lackeys came and lifted the curtain, looking for the two. He saw al-Rasī but did not see Abū Ya'qūb; so he entered and searched for him; and [in the end] caught sight of the tail of his garment in the water. He called a lackey who knew how to swim; this one jumped into the water, and found Abū Ya'qūb with his garments rolled around his face and sunk in the water. The servants sent word to the *kā'id*, summoned the *cadi*, and waked up al-Rasī. [p. 262, 1] The [whole] matter was most disagreeable to them, as they knew the consideration al-Hākim had for al-Ya'qūb. They begged me to inform al-Hākim of what had happened. I went to him and told him that Abū Ya'qūb had gotten up during the night while in a stupor, and had jumped into the river; and that when the lackey got to him he found him caught in his clothing and drowned. This grieved al-Hākim, who appeared to be very much affected. He had the matter looked into. The exact circumstances were related to him, but he shook his head.

The *cadi*, al-Rasī and the *kā'id*, however, had come to the castle on foot with fine turbans on their heads. Al-Hākim summoned them [to his presence]. They swore and affirmed upon oath that they had had nothing to do with the whole affair. The *kā'id* and the *cadi* called al-Rasī to witness, and he testified to their innocence. Orders were then given that the body should

¹ The description confirms Dozy's suggestion (ii. 41) that the *مخبر* was a "portique ouvert."

be prepared and buried. This occurred towards the end of the year 397 [A.H.].

On Thursday, the middle of Rajab 398, the report was spread abroad that 'Abd al-'Azīz, the *cadi*, had been deposed and that his successor, Mālik ibn Sa'īd, had been confirmed. When the morning came, he did not go to the court until near mid-day. Then he did go; held court, led the mid-day prayers and went off all alone, without chamberlain or footman, until he came to his dwelling place. As the day commenced to decline, certain people went around to all the chief men telling them to collect in the castle on the morrow. [p. 263, 1] So they all assembled before Mālik ibn Sa'īd, who was invested with the various functions with which 'Abd al-'Azīz had been invested—whose term of office had [thus] lasted three years, nine months and twenty-eight days.

Al-Musabbihī says: 'Abd al-'Azīz dismissed from office thirteen persons while he sat as appeal judge, and two during his *cadiship*. After his deposition, 'Abd al-'Azīz was in the habit of going to the castle alone, though constantly expecting to be killed. On the 13th of the second Jumāda, 399 [A.H.], the *kā'id* Husain ibn Jauhar and the *cadi* went out riding according to their custom, and they came back without any incident having occurred.¹ Then [al-Ḥākim] sent for them; and 'Abd al-'Azīz going first, was clapped into prison. His servant returned home [alone] with his mule; whereupon the *kā'id* and his son hid themselves. But the door of their house was broken in and al-Ḥākim gave stringent orders that they should be brought. This being found impossible, al-Ḥākim gave word that 'Abd al-'Azīz should be released, who returned to his dwelling place. The people were already making preparations for his funeral, but he quieted them. The shop-keepers had also closed their booths; these he ordered to be opened again. After three days, the *kā'id* went to al-Ḥākim unmolested. Splendid robes were presented to him and to 'Abd al-'Azīz; before them many garments being carried. They were led [in state] upon two horses, many horsemen preceding them. Then al-Ḥākim gave back to 'Abd al-'Azīz the hearing of appeal cases. His certificate was read out; he was clothed with

¹ فسلبا; or "having greeted" [al-Ḥākim.]

ready-made garments [p. 264, 1] and with the *ṭailasān*. He was led riding upon a mule; before him was another and in front of him was carried a chest full of garments. He was [thus] confirmed¹ on Ṣafar 9th, 400 [A.H.] The revenues of a fief were given to him, and upon the door of his dwelling-place a plaque was put with the name of the *dīwān*. On the last days of Ramaḍān the *cadi*'s sons married the daughters of the *kā'id* to whom they had been betrothed.

In the latter part of Muḥarram 401 [A.H.] the *cadi* and the *kā'id* became suspicious of perfidy on the part of al-Ḥākim towards them; and on Ṣafar the 9th the *cadi*, the commander-in-chief Husain, their followers and their friends took to flight, carrying with them much of their wealth, and went in the direction of Dujwa.² When al-Ḥākim heard of this, he put seals on their dwellings and ordered Mālik ibn Sa'īd al-Fāriḳī to ride to the dwellings of the *cadi* and of al-Husain, to seize whatever he might find there and to carry it off. The *cadi* and the *kā'id* kept in hiding until Muḥarram the 6th, 401 [A.H.] when they appeared, a safe-conduct having been written for them. They remained at their posts until Friday, the 12th of Jumāda, on which day they were present at their posts and then returned. At once al-Ḥākim sent to them and they came back; whereupon a band of Turks killed both in the vestibule. The seal was at once put [p. 265, 1] on their dwellings, their houses were immediately surrounded, and they passed away unavenged. Many of their followers were seized and fined.

'Abd al-'Azīz was learned in the canon-law of the Imāmi rite, as his whole family had been, especially his grandfather. The Sheikh 'Imād al-Dīn ibn al-Kathīr³ attributed to him the authorship of a work entitled *Al-Balāgh al-Akbar wal-Nāmūs al-A'zam* dealing with the principles of religion. But in this he was mistaken; for it was a work composed by his father giv-

¹ Reading *واستقر*.

² Dujwa or Dijwa, six parasangs from Fustāt, Yāḳūt, ii, 555, in the Sharḳiyya province. This can hardly be the present *دجوی*, marked in the Egyptian Postal Guide (*Maṣlaḥat al-Busta*, Cairo 1906, p. 268) as being in the Ḳalyūbiyya province.

³ Born 1301, died 1373. The reference may be to his large historical work, *Al-Bidāya wal-Nihāya*, Brockelmann, ii, 49.

ing the ideas of al-Nu'mān, that one's father. Ibn Kathīr says that the cadī Abū Bakr al-Bākilānī¹ wrote a refutation of this work. Ibn Kathīr adds "It contains heterodox ideas, the like of which Iblīs himself would not have conceived." Such were his words.

Kāsim ibn Abd al-'Azīz ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mān al-Maghribī belonging to the Imāmī sect, of the fifth century. He was called Abū Muḥammad, and was put in office after Ibn Abī al-'Awwām² on Sunday, the 4th of the first Jumāda, in the year 418.³ His diploma was published in the *ḡaṣṣ* and in the *jāmi'* of Fustāt. He received the title Kādī al-Qudāt, Thiqat al-Daula, Amin al-A'imma, Sharaf al-Aḥkām, Jalāl al-Islām.⁴ He exercised his functions until he was deposed on Sunday the 25th of Rajab in the year 419, he having lasted for one year, two months and some days. This was his first tenure of office. In his place was appointed 'Abd al-Hākim ibn Sa'īd ibn Mālik al-Fāriḳī. On the 6th of Dhul-ḡa'da, in the year 427, Kāsim was re-appointed to office, presided over civil [p. 266, 1] and criminal cases, and (also) over the preaching. In this period of office al-Qudātī was appointed and became his locum tenens in this, his second period. Kāsim was not praised for his conduct, although his term of office lasted for a long time, until he

¹ Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Tayyib ibn Muḥammad ibn Ja'far ibn al-Kāsim al-Bākilānī, died 1013. See Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, ii. 671. Perhaps the work referred to is his *Kashf Asrār al-Bāṭiniyya* mentioned by Hāji Khalifa, v, 199.

² I. e., Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Abī 'Awwām.

³ Al-Musabbihī, in treating of the year 415, mentions the fact that al-Tāhir had al-Kāsim ascend the minbar with him. He is here called only "Chief Preacher." Becker, *Beiträge*, i, 72, 4.

⁴ The synagogue document above referred to (of the year 429 A.H.) gives his title as follows : مولانا قاضى القضاة وداعى الدعاة امين

الائمة شرف الاحكام جلال الاسلام ذو الجلالتين والرياستين

ابن عبد العزيز ابو محمد ابن النعمان. Al-Siyūṭī (vol. ii, p. 102)

says of our cadī : ولقب بقاضى القضاة وداعى الدعاة وثقة الدولة

وامير الامراء وشرف الاحكام

was deposed in al-Muḥarram 441; this second term having endured thirteen years, one month and four days.¹ The verses in which both he and Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥākim al-Fārīkī were ridiculed have already been cited.²

Abū al-Kāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nu‘mān is the same as Ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz previously mentioned.

AN ADDITIONAL NOTE AND SOME CORRECTIONS.

P. 224. I am not quite correct in saying that the history of the Egyptian cadis was first written by al-Kindī. Professor Torrey calls my attention to the fact that this was done before him by Abū al-Kāsim ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam (died 257 A.H.). This was not apparent from any of the reference books; but see now Torrey, “The Muhammedan Conquest of Egypt and North Africa,” in *Biblical and Semitic Studies* (Yale Bicentennial Publications), N. Y. 1901, p. 279: “Appended to the history proper is a collection of brief biographies of the *qādīs* of Egypt, from the Conquest down nearly to the author's own time.” It forms the sixth of the seven parts of the *Futūḥ Miṣr*. As it stops at the year 246 A.H., it is evident that al-Kindī has based his treatise upon these notes of Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam. I purpose to edit al-Kindī's account of the cadis.

P. 229, note 4 read Ravaisse.

P. 239, 18 read الشرطة .

P. 240, 1 read ابا .

P. 242, 1 read فتنجز .

P. 242, 4 read وسكت .

P. 243, 11 read القضاة .

P. 245, 2 read قاضي .

P. 245, 3 read ثقافته .

P. 245, 9 read زوجها ,

P. 248, 9 read جبارا .

P. 248, 18 read بر جوان .

P. 250, 8 read واستخلفه .

P. 251, 4 read وقبلهم .

P. 254, 5, 10 read يسجل .

P. 254, 10 read قراءة .

P. 256, 16 read النظر .

¹ Al-Maḥrizī (*al-Khiṭaṭ*, vol. i, p. 355) says that he held office for fourteen years; but this is probably not meant to be absolutely exact.



² In some other biography of this same work.









Supplement to the Old-Babylonian Vocabularies.—By R. J. LAU, Ph.D., Columbia University, New York City.

IN 1896 Columbia University in New York City came into possession of 455 Babylonian clay-tablets, 258 of which are a part of the so-called Telloh tablets, discovered by Ernst de Sarzee in 1894-1895. They can be assigned to the fourth dynasty of Ur (2750-2550 B. C.), both because of the given dates and for paleographic reasons; though a number of the tablets contain only the day and month, else no date at all.

While copying, transcribing and translating these inscriptions I met with some expressions which, I believe, have not yet been translated. And when I later compared the 'Sign-List and Glossary' of my book, *Ancient Babylonian Temple Records* (soon to appear), with George A. Reissner's *Tempelurkunden*, I found that the Columbia University Collection contained words and phrases which have been left untranslated by other authors, or which do not occur on any tablets so far published.

I herewith offer the following list as a supplement to the existing vocabularies: .

AD.E ( ) , 'father of the house; i e,
'major domus.'

A.TIR (       

BAL.KU A (𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭), 'some one employed at a
water-wheel (BAL = dalû, 'draw water').

DIR, DIRIG (𒀭𒀭), 'added, surplus'

DUK PIRIḪ GA IGĪ + GUNU (𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭) -
^{karpat} pirkêti arkâti (p 71) + šizbu, 'green-
colored libation-pots for milk.'

DUMU BA.MIL (𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭), 'slaughterer'

ERIM KU.MAL BAL.KU.Ā (𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭),
'hired slave, employed at the water-wheel.'

ERIM ŠE KIN (𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭), 'slave (ERIM) who
cuts (KIN = nakâsu) grain (ŠE = še'u).'





GEME DA (𒀭𒀭𒀭), 'female assistant.'




GEME HAR.HAR (𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭), 'female cook'





GIŠ GIR.DU (𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭), 'something made of
wood (GIŠ) on which to place (DU nagâzu)
the foot (GIR = šêpu); i.e., 'foot-stool.'


HU KAK (𒀭𒀭𒀭), 'caretaker of the fowl.'





KA (𒀭𒀭) = buzutu, 'partial payment.'








EGIR.KA (   ) = busurtu arkātu,
'the last partial payment.'






SI.KA (  ) = busurtu malitū,
'a partial payment in full.'





KA.ŠU.GAB (   ) = 'official who lifted
(GAB = našū) with his hand (ŠU = kātu)
the KA measure, i.e., 'a grain-measurer.'


MÀ.A SI(G).GA (   ) = clippu malū, 'a
full ship, cargo'.

MÀ GIŠ.NI (   ) = 'a cargo of sesame, oil.'


MÀ GUR KU.BABBAR TUR (      ) =
'a small barque of silver; i.e., 'an ornament.'

MAL DUB.BA (    ) = 'house (or temple)-list;'
i.e., 'list of employees'.


MU...ŠU (  ...  ) = aššu, not developed
from ana šu, as has been supposed, but
from ana šumi (MU = šumu, ŠU = ana);
then ana šum, anšum, aššum and aššu.


PEŠ.LUM () = arû + unnubu, 'tops of date-palm branches with their dates (fruit)'.


SAG NIG.GA () = 'total possession'.




SI NI.İB NIN ŠID.AG () = 'settlement of an old account'

ŠAG) ŠI () = kirbu damku, 'offering, gift'

ŠI + GAR AG DE () = 'skillful persons (DE = ummānu) engaged in (AG = spēšu) the work (ŠI + GAR)'.

TUR).RA () = erēbu, 'bring, repeat, ditto'.

UD.MA.A () = talimu, 'twin, the second'.

URU () = alu, 'company, band'; from idea 'city, inhabitants of a city'; cf. Hebrew  and Arabic .

Abel (אַבֶּל) in the Bible.—By R. J. LATU, Ph.D., Columbia University, New York City.

Siegfried and Stade (*Hebräisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 5^a) translate this word 'grassy plain, pasturage (Aue, Trift)'; others have suggested that it should be read אֶבֶן.

It neither means 'grassy plain,' nor must it be changed to אֶבֶן for the following reasons:

1. On such an אַבֶּל the Israelites had placed the 'Ark of Jahve'

(1 Sam. 6, 18: "אֶבֶל גְּדֹלָה אֲשֶׁר הִנִּיחוּ עָלֶיהָ אֶת-אֲרוֹן יְהוָה").

If this אַבֶּל had been a 'grassy plain,' the text would read אֲשֶׁר הִנִּיחוּ בָּהּ, instead of אֲשֶׁר הִנִּיחוּ עָלֶיהָ; it must therefore have been an object higher than the ground itself.

According to verses 14 and 15 it was an אֶבֶן גְּדֹלָה, 'a large stone,' which still stood in the field of Jehoshua (v. 18, last clause) in the time of the writer of the book of Samuel.

2. Other passages in which אַבֶּל occurs seem to prove that these stones were placed in certain localities

a) to commemorate well-known events of the past:

α) the אַבֶּל מִצְרַיִם, 'the אַבֶּל of the Egyptians,' where the Israelites (called here Egyptians) mourned for Joseph; cf. Gen. 50, 11.

β) the אַבֶּל מְחֹלָה, 'the אַבֶּל of the dance,' which had been placed in memory of a certain 'great rejoicing' of the people; Judges 7, 22; 1 Kings 14, 12; 19, 16.

γ) the אַבֶּל בֵּית מַעֲכָה, 'the אַבֶּל at Bêth Maachah;' 1 Kings 15, 20; 2 Kings 15, 29; 2 Sam. 20, 14, 15.

b) to mark possession; with a signification similar to that of the Assyrian *kudurru*, 'boundary-stone.'

α) the אַבֶּל מַיִם, 'the אַבֶּל of (at) the water(s);' 2 Chron. 16, 14.

β) אֵבֶל הַשִּׁטִּים, 'the אֵבֶל of (at) the locust-trees,'
Nu. 33, 49.

γ) אֵבֶל כְּרָמִים, 'the אֵבֶל of (at) the vine-yards,'
Judg. 11, 33.

This אֵבֶל stone was not merely a boundary stone, but one that marked 'possession.' The fact that the word occurs only in the singular goes far to prove, that

1. only *one* stone was placed on the land, at the waters, in the grove of locust-trees, or in the vineyards, mentioned above;
2. that most likely it was larger than a common boundary-stone, but lower than the cart on which the 'ark' was moved.
3. A further proof for this assertion can be adduced from the Assyrian *ablu*, *iblu*:

- a) Nebuchadnezzar styles himself (VR. 55, 5): *našir kudurrēti, mukinu ablē*, 'protector of the boundary-stones, and establisher of the *ablē* (stones).' According to this passage the *kudurrū* was different from the *ablu*.
- b) Nabopalassar says (OBI. I, col. II, 28-31: *amel D IM. GAL. E išuttum (=išēniš) iblē ukinnu*) 'the master-builders determined the *iblē*.' Here *iblē* must mean not merely the boundaries, but rather the *extent* of the boundaries in either direction, that is they determined where the *iblē*-stones should be placed, which marked the *extent of the boundaries*.

According to these two passages the Assyrians made use of more than one *ablu* or *iblu*, which were *not* the same as the *kudurrē*, for the words occur only in the plural. The Hebrew אֵבֶל occurs only in the singular, and was placed 1) to commemorate a certain event; or 2) to signify possession.

The Pi'el in Hebrew.—By LOUIS B. WOLFENSON, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

In the Semitic languages the great majority of words are derived from triconsonantal roots. There are a number of pluriconsonantal roots,¹ e. g., כרסם (impf. Qal with suffix Ps. 80, 14), 'eat off,' צפרדע 'frog'; Arab. قمل gam'al 'sprout; be chief'; Syr. سَهت 'hasten'; Eth. መኣሳ 'ambasā' (عيس 'ambas from عيس) 'lion,' etc.; but these are in nearly all cases derived from triconsonantal roots in various ways.² According to some authorities all triconsonantal roots are in their turn derived from biconsonantal roots.³ The biconsonantal roots, however, they regard as altogether prehistoric, and all words in the historic stages of the languages are looked upon as derived from triconsonantal stems. The shorter biconsonantal form of the verbs י"ע and ע"ע are thus considered to be the result of elision and contraction of triconsonantal ones.

¹ The number of pluriconsonantal roots in Hebrew is small; in Syriac the number is larger, while in Arabic and especially in Ethiopic they are relatively numerous.

² For the ways in which these formations are developed cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch²⁷, § 80, p. q.; Dillmann, *Aeth. Gram.*², Leipzig, 1899, §§ 71-73, 77, 78; Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*², Leipzig, 1898, § 180; and the special treatises of F. G. Schwartzlose, *De Linguae Arabicae Verborum Plurilitterorum Derivatione*, Berolini, 1854; Stade, *Ueber den Ursprung der Mehrlautigen Thatwörter der Ge'ezsprache*, Leipzig, 1871; Martin Hartmann, *Die Pluriliteralbildung in Semitischen Sprachen*, Halle, 1875 [only the *Erster Theil*; *Bildungen durch wiederholung des letzten Radicales am Schluss und des ersten nach dem zweiten* has appeared]; Siegmund Fraenkel, *Beiträge zur Erklärung der Mehrlautigen Bildungen im Arabischen*, Leiden, 1878.

³ Cf. Ed. König, *Lehrgebäude der Hebr. Sprache*, Leipzig, 1881, 1895, II, § 119, 3 b), c) (p. 370 ff.); and contrast Gesenius-Kautzsch²⁷, p. 99, n. 1. It is most likely that originally all roots were not biconsonantal, but that there were also triconsonantal ones; cf. Delitzsch, *Studien über Indogermanisch-Semitische Wurzelverwandtschaft*, Leipzig, 1873, p. 70.

⁴ Verbs י"ע is used as a convenient symbol meaning verbs *mediae u, mediae i*, following König, who uses also ע"י similarly.

This view of these verbs is that of the national Arabic grammarians, and it is supported by the many secondarily regular forms in their language. In Hebrew, however, which is in some respects more primitive than Arabic,¹ the conditions are different, and the earliest Hebrew grammarians and lexicographers of the Middle Ages did not hold this view. They believed that in Hebrew there are biconsonantal² and even uniconsonantal roots in the case of certain weak roots like נכה³, etc. The explanation that the shorter forms of the verbs ע"י and ע"ע are contractions, is based on the Arabic view, and was first introduced in Hebrew by the grammarian and lexicographer Ḥayyūj,⁴ living at Cordova, Spain, in the latter half of the 10th century and early part of the 11th, who spoke and wrote Arabic, and applied to Hebrew the principles of the Arabic language and the methods of the Arabic grammarians. His view of these verbs prevailed until the last century, and is held even at the present time by such a prominent grammarian as Ed. König,⁵ as well as by others of less note.

¹ Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch²⁷, § 1, n.

² This is shown by the arrangement of their lexicons. Thus, e. g., in the lexicon of Menahem ben Saruk we find the root נשא treated under the biconsonantal heading שא; שח and שחח both under שח; פוץ; פוץ, and נפץ under פץ; showing that the ultimate root of many so-called weak roots was considered biconsonantal. See the edition of Menahem's Lexicon by Herschell Filipowsky, *Antiquissimum Linguae Hebraicae et Chaldaicae Lexicon . . . A Menahem ben Saruk . . . Londini et Edinburgi MDCCCLIV*, pp. [168]^a, [171]^b, [144]^a, and cf. J. Fürst, *Zur Geschichte der Hebräischen Lexicographie*, the Introduction to his *Hebräisches u. Chald. Handwörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1863 (2d ed.), p. xx.

³ Cf. the Lexicon of Menahem, p. [103]^b, under ך for נכה; cf. also p. [123]^a, and [127]^b for other examples of uniconsonantal roots (ך root of ינה, ך root of נסה).

⁴ His views on this subject are expounded in the two treatises called the *Kitāb al-'Af-āl dawāt Hurūf al-Līn*, and the *Kitāb al-'Af-āl dawāt al-Mithlāin*; see the edition by Morris Jastrow, Jr., published under the title "The Weak and Geminat Verbs in Hebrew, by . . . Ḥayyuj," Leide, 1897, Preface, p. xi, and cf. Fürst, *l. c.*, p. xxiv.

⁵ See his *Lehrgebäude*, I, § 84 (p. 320 ff.), where the verbs ע"ע are treated under the heading of Contracted Verbs. Cf. also *Vorrede* VII, and pp. 479-81 with pp. 451-53. Of course the question of the ultimate origin of these shorter verbs is not affected by this opinion. Thus both

However, beginning with J. Fürst¹ and Ewald,² there has been a constantly growing number of scholars who have regarded the verbs י"י and י"י as not as contractions of triconsonantal forms, but as developments of biconsonantal roots which were not expanded to the triconsonantal forms as in other cases. Thus Nöldeke,³ Böttcher,⁴ A. Müller,⁵ Stade,⁶ deLagarde,⁷ Friederich Delitzsch,⁸ Zimmern,⁹ Kautzsch,¹⁰ Wellhausen,¹¹ and others have

König (cf. p. 303, n. 3), and Mayer Lambert, who believes that the verbs י"י and י"י are contractions of triconsonantal forms (cf. his article "La Trilitéralité des Racines י"י et י"י," in *Revue des Études Juives* [REJ], Tome xxxv, 1897, p. 203 ff.), consider that these verbs (י"י and י"י) as well as all other triconsonantal verbs are derived from original biconsonantal roots. Cf. Mayer Lambert's paper in *Semitic Studies in Honor of Alex. Kohut*, Berlin, 1897, p. 354-62, but contrast Gesenius-Kautzsch²⁷, p. 99, n. 1.

¹ Cf. *Lehrgebäude der aramäischen Idiome*, Leipzig, 1835, §§ 91 (p. 81), 153 (p. 158). As far as I can find, no credit has been given Fürst for postulating the theory that the verbs י"י and י"י are biconsonantals, as his name is omitted in everything on this subject which I have seen, Ewald and Böttcher being the first scholars mentioned as holding this view.

² Cf. *Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache*⁸, Göttingen, 1870, §§ 112, 113.

³ In a review of Olshausen's grammar in Benfey's *Orient u. Occident*, I, 1862, p. 760 ff.; cf. *Mandäische Gram.*, Halle, 1875, § 87, and *Beiträge zu semit. Sprachwissenschaft* [BzsS.], Strassburg, 1904, p. 46.

⁴ *Lehrbuch*, 1866-68, §§ 1116 f.; 1127 f.

⁵ In *ZDMG.* 33, 1879, pp. 698-700.

⁶ *Hebr. Gram.*, 1879, pp. 109 ff., 138 ff.

⁷ Cf. *Orientalia*, II., Göttingen, 1880, p. 6; *Übersicht*, Göttingen, 1889, pp. 26, 27.

⁸ *Assyrian Gram.*, Berlin, 1889, § 61, 1); § 115.

⁹ *Vergl. Gram. d. semit. Sprachen*, Berlin, 1898, § 50 b, c.; § 51 b, c.

¹⁰ Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebr. Gram.*²⁷, §§ 67, 72.

¹¹ *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, VI, Berlin, 1899, p. 250-255. This article Wellhausen says he wrote to explain especially the *impf*'s. of the so-called verbs י"י, e. g., ישים, יבין. De Lagarde, however, had previously stated that these verbs were biconsonantal just as the verbs called י"י. In 1880 in his *Orientalia*, II., p. 6, he says: "die wurzeln יי und יי halte ich garnicht für dreiconsonantig, sondern—seit jaren habe ich dies öffentlich gelehrt—für zweiconsonantig," and in his *Übersicht*, p. 26, 27: "Ich glaube, dass es zweikonsonantige Wurzeln mit ursprünglich langem Vokale gibt: قام mit يقوم [...]. Ich füge jetzt hinzu, dass ich בין mit علم parallel setze, etc." Apparently no notice

has been taken of these statements. Wellhausen does not refer to

considered these verbs as biconsonantal. It is A. Müller, Stade, and Wellhausen especially, who have most consistently carried out the biconsonantal explanation.

According to their explanation, these verbs are derived from original biconsonantal roots with a short characteristic vowel between the two radicals, corresponding to the characteristic vowel between the 2d and 3d radicals of triconsonantal verbs. Under the influence of the prevailing triconsonantal types, the biconsonantal forms of the verbs י"ע and ע"ע were usually amplified: the former, by lengthening the short characteristic vowel between the two radicals,¹ e. g., in יקום the *ā* is from

Lagarde, nor does Nöldeke in the reprint of his paper *Die Verba י"ע im Hebräischen* in BzsS., p. 34 ff., although Lagarde refers (*Uebers.*, p. 26 below) to Nöldeke's article (first published ZDMG. 37, 1883, p. 525 ff.), and Nöldeke accepts the explanation of Wellhausen (BzsS., p. 46). Lagarde's explanation, however, is based on the assumption that the verbs י"ע had an originally *long* vowel between the two radicals (cf. above). This same view is held by Ewald, Delitzsch, and Zimmern (cf. *ll. cc.*). Wellhausen, on the contrary, correctly explains these verbs as derived from biconsonantal roots with an originally *short* characteristic vowel, so that the *ī* in ישים is lengthened (under the influence of the longer, predominant triconsonantal forms) from *ī*, just as the *ā* in יקום is from *ā*, and the *ō* for *ā* in יבוא from *ā*.

¹ This lengthening takes place usually in forms in which the characteristic vowel stood originally in an open syllable, e. g., Arabic قام, قَامَتْ, قَامُوا, etc., from original *qāma*, *qāmāt*, *qāmū*; Syriac ܩܡܐ, ܩܡܐܬ, etc. But in Hebrew this lengthening did not take place in the corresponding forms of the *Qal perf.*, קָם, קָמָה (מָת, בָּשׁ), etc., being for *qām*, *qāmā* (*mēt*, *bōš*), with tone-long vowels, and so really = *qām(a)*, *qāmā* (*mīt*, *būš*), etc., with heightening (not lengthening) in the tone. The forms of the *Qal act. part.* are the same as those of the 3d *masc. sing. perf.*, hence *qām*, *mēt*, *bōš*, although the vowels are unchangeable. Cf. F. R. Blake in JAOS. vol. xxii, 1901, p. 51, n. 3; Wellhausen, *Skizzen u. Vorarb.* VI., p. 252; and contrast Gesenius-Kautzsch²⁷, § 72 g.

In both Hebrew and Arabic an originally short characteristic vowel was retained without lengthening when it occurred in a closed syllable. Thus in the *jussive* and *apocopated* forms the original short vowel was not lengthened because in a form expressing a command or the like it was desirable to have as short a form as possible, e. g., יקם = *īāqōm* with later tone-long *ō* from *īaqūm*, יקם = *īāīāqōm* in which the original *ū*

an original *ā*, in יָגֵל the *ī* is from an original *ī*, and in יָבֹא the *ō* is for *ā* from *ā*; the latter by doubling (not repeating) the second radical, e. g., סָבָה from an original *sābāt*, etc., the doubling being secondarily omitted in Hebrew in forms in which the final vowels are dropped, e. g., סַב for *sabb*, cf. Arabic فَرَّ *farra*, etc.

appears as *ō*, יָגֵל = *īagēl* with tone-long *ē* from *īagil*, etc.; Arabic يَغْلُ *īagūl*, יִסֵּר *īasir*, יִזֵּל *īazūl*, etc. Also in forms having an affirmative beginning with a consonant, the characteristic vowel, occurring in a closed syllable with a second consonant immediately following the final radical, was not lengthened, no doubt on account of the firmness resulting from the juxtaposition of two consonants without intervening vowel, e. g., Arabic قَمَت *qūmta*, بِنَت *bīnta*; Hebrew בִּשְׁת, קָמַת (with *ō* heightened from *ū* in the tone): impf. יִצְלֵן *īaqūlna*, יִסְרֵן *īasrīna*, יִזְלֵן *īazūlna*; Hebrew תִּשְׁבְּנָה with *ō* heightened (not lengthened) from *ū* (if it were lengthened it would become *ū* as in יָקֹום from *īaqūm*), תִּגְלֵנָה with *ē* from *ī*, and תִּבְאֵנָה with *ō* (not *ō* as is stated, Ges.-Kautzsch⁷¹, § 72 k) obscured from *ā* which was lengthened from an original *ā* on account of the quiescing of the א in an original *tabā'na*. [In the rarer תִּבְאֵנָה (cf. Ges.-Kautzsch⁷¹, § 76 g) the *ā* is also *ō* for *ā*; but here the *ā*—as well as the *ū* in תִּקְוִינָה and the *ī* in תִּקְיִינָה—arose through the lengthening of an original short vowel, *ā* (*ū*, *ī*), under the influence of the prevailing triconsonantal type, since the root syllable is no longer closed when ו־ intervenes before the affirmative נָה . . .]

In such forms as these, in which the characteristic vowel occurs in a closed syllable, some (e. g., A. Müller, ZDMG. 33, p. 699) are inclined to think that this vowel was first lengthened and then shortened again in a closed syllable, so that קָמַת, e. g., is shortened from **qāmta*, which arose from *qāmta*. This is apparently supported by Syriac ܩܡܬܐ, etc., Ethiopic ቆማኑ *qōmka*, etc., with long vowel in a closed syllable. In Ethiopic, however, the long vowel in the closed syllable is contrary to rule. Cf. Praetorius, *Gram. Aethiopica*, 1886, § 15. The long vowel here must be explained. In both Ethiopic and Syriac the long vowel is best explained as due to the analogy of other forms in which the long vowel occurs regularly in an open syllable, e. g., ܩܡܐ, ܩܡܐ, etc.; ቆማ *qōma*, ቆማት *qōmāt*, ቆማህ *qōmū*, etc. The Hebrew forms like קָמַת are then to be explained as preserving the originally short vowel unchanged, and are therefore more original.

This biconsonantal theory is the most natural explanation of these classes of roots, and is the one most in accord with philological principles. For if the prevailing triconsonantal type of root is in considerable part a development from a biconsonantal state,¹ it is more than likely that remains of this former state should be preserved in the stages with which we are familiar. In language a new order of things is a growth, the older existing at least for a time beside the new, and it is not introduced by unanimous agreement, as it were, of those using it. In all languages in which a growth can be observed a certain number of older forms are preserved. These older forms appear irregular in comparison with the prevailing types. To consider the

This conclusion is supported by the corresponding Arabic forms قمت *qūmta*, بنت *bīnta*, etc., in which the vowels are also short. The shortness is original. Their quality, however is secondary. One would expect to find *a* in the root syllable, as in Hebrew. Wellhausen has correctly explained the *ū* and *i* as due to the characteristic vowels *ū* and *i* in the impf. يقوم *īqūm*, يبين *īabīn*. Of course in the case of *intrans.* verbs like طال 'be long' (طلت *ṭulta*), زال 'cease' (زلت *zilta*), it should occasion no surprise that the original *intrans.* characteristic vowels are retained. Nöldeke, however, has questioned (BzsS., p. 46, n. 2) in this connection: Why, if زلت *zilta* is the *intrans.* form, do we not find زيل *zila* instead of زال *zāla*? By way of answer it will be recalled that such *intrans.* forms are actually found dialectically; cf. Wright-deGoeje, *Arabic Gram.*³ I, 1896, p. 88 D. In general, however, this form (زيل) became the *passive* in the case of *trans.* verbs (cf. F. R. Blake's paper, *The Internal Passive in Semitic*, JAOS., vol. xxii, p. 51 ff.), and when this took place the act. form قال prevailed also in the case of *intrans.* verbs in forms in which the characteristic vowel occurs in an open syllable (قامت *qāmāt*, قاموا *qāmū*, etc.). In Hebrew also the *trans.* type קָמַת prevailed in many verbs that must have been originally *intrans.* Only מָת, בּוֹשׁ, אֹר, and טוֹב occur as *intrans.* forms in the *perf.* The *trans.* form prevailed to such an extent that we find the *trans.* vocalization in the case of forms of מָת having an affirmative beginning with a consonant, e. g., מִמָּה and not מִמָּה*.

All the forms of the verbs ע"י may thus be satisfactorily explained on the biconsonantal theory.

¹ Cf. n. 8, p. 303.

shorter forms of the verbs ע"י and ע"ע¹ as contractions of regular ones is unphilological²—they are original biconsonantal forms preserved in the historical stages of the Semitic languages.³

Accordingly, forms of these verbs with three distinct radicals are a relatively later development. In fact, in case of the roots ע"י in Hebrew, verbal forms with consonantal ך and ך' are very

¹ I retain the symbols ע"י and ע"ע as being customary and convenient, although they are, of course, inaccurate since there was properly no radical in these verbs corresponding to ע in פעל.

² In the case of the verbs ע"י it is even impossible. For in the verbs that actually have ך as 2d radical we find the ך preserved as a radical consonant which does not suffer contraction, and that too in just those situations in which the advocates of the triconsonantal explanation of the verbs ע"י say that ך' and ך were elided or underwent contraction e. g., רַחַם I Sam. 16. 23, beside forms like קָם in verbs יָקַח, ע"ו.

beside forms like יָקַח, etc., etc. Of verbs with ך as 2d radical there occur (not including verbs ל"הא in Hebrew גוע, חור, עול, עוף, עור, עור, צוח, עות, שוע. Cf. below, n. 4. Accordingly there is no reason why a contraction should have taken place in verbs ע"י if ך had been present originally as 2d radical any more than in the above verbs. We must therefore conclude that no ך was present. These verbs (i. e., the so-called verbs ע"י) were originally biconsonantal.

³ As Nöldeke pointed out as early as 1862, saying (*Orient u. Occid.* I, p. 760): "Wir betrachten eben Wurzeln wie *qām, sab* als werthvolle Überreste einer Zeit in welche die Dreikonsonantigkeit noch nicht bestand." Accordingly these roots have only two radicals. In his more recent statement (*Bzss.*, p. 46 below, 47), however, viz., "Alle historischen semitischen Sprachen behandeln hier doch die Vokalbuchstaben ך und ך' als Radicale," there is not a little inconsistency. According to this remark, there are practically three radicals. This is open to grave objections in fact, as Nöldeke himself must needs grant, since he admits that the Arabic forms cited by him in support of his statement may be considered secondary.

⁴ Of course, forms of triconsonantal roots with ך as second radical are formed regularly, and in these ך appears as a consonant throughout, e. g., יָעַל, עוֹלָה; צוּחַ, יָצוּחַ Is. 42, 11; etc., cf. n. 2. The gutturals in these roots have nothing whatever to do with the retention of the ך as a consonant, as König (*Lehrgeb.* I, p. 453) followed by Mayer Lambert (*REJ.*, xxxv, 1897, p. 211) supposes, since we find a large number of roots ע"י which also have gutturals as radicals, and yet no consonantal ך appears, as one would expect according to König, if it had once been

few, being limited to *Pi'ēls* occurring only in the latest literature, so that they are really Aramaic forms and not Hebrew, e. g., עָוַר Ps. 119, 61; קָיַם Est. 9, 21, 29, 31; קָיָמוּ Esth. 9, 27, 31; חִיבְתָּם Dan. 1, 10. In case of the verbs עָע the triconsonantal form with repeated second radical appears regularly in Hebrew in the 3d *sing. mas.* and *fem.*, and 3d *plu.* of the *Qal perf.* as the trans. form, while the more original biconsonantal form is used as the form with intrans. meaning,¹ e. g., צָר 'make narrow,' but צָר 'be narrow.' Also a considerable number of regular *Pi'ēl* forms from the amplified triconsonantal stem—which, as we saw, are practically of non-occurrence in verbs עָע—are formed from roots עָע, e. g., חָלַל, חָלַל, חָנַן, חָנַן, רָצַץ, עָלַל, סָבַב, etc.

It is clear from the foregoing that originally no *Pi'ēl* intensive stem could be formed in the case of the biconsonantal verbs עָע and עָע, since the *Pi'ēl* requires three radicals for its formation. It is not until these roots have been fully assimilated to the triconsonantal form that the *Pi'ēl* can be made. In actual fact the *Pi'ēl* of verbs עָע, as was stated above, does not properly occur in Hebrew. We find in its stead the *Pi'ēl*. Also in the verbs *mediae geminatae* the *Pi'ēl* occurs as the intensive stem, although some regular *Pi'ēls* are found, e. g., חָלַל, etc.

With regard to the origin of the *Pi'ēl* there have been a number of different explanations. In general, opinions as to its origin may be divided into two main currents according as it is supposed to have arisen independently in the verbs עָע and עָע,² the agreement in final form being then accidental, or it

present, e. g., אָר, חָל, בּוֹא, זָע, (two gutturals!), etc., proving that if ך was second radical the presence of a guttural in the root did not prevent contraction as is supposed. Roots like עָע (עָע) can, therefore, be explained only as a separate class distinct from the roots עָע. We cannot otherwise account for the difference in meaning between two roots, otherwise identical, like עָע, (עָע) Is. 26, 10 'act unjustly, corruptly,' and עָע (*part. plu. fem.* עָע) 'suckle'—the former is triconsonantal with ך as middle radical, the latter biconsonantal.

¹ Cf. Ges.-Kautzsch²⁷, § 67a, ¶ 2; König, *Lehrgeb.*, I, pp. 320, 321.

² Thus Böttcher, *Lehrgebäude*, § 1016, § 1030, 2; Olshausen, § 251 b, 252, 254; König, *Lehrgeb.* I, pp. 451 and 349.

arose in the one class and was transferred to the other by analogy. The latter view, that the *Pi'lel* arose in one class and was transferred to the other, is undoubtedly correct whatever explanation is otherwise adopted. It is the view followed by Ewald,¹ Hartmann,² Stade,³ and Barth,⁴ Ewald and Hartmann believing that the *Pi'lel* arose in the verbs *י"ע*, while Stade and Barth, although differing in other respects in their explanations of the form, believing that it arose in the verbs *י"ע*.

Stade's explanation, that the *Pi'lel* arose from the *Qal* stem *qāma* by reduplicating the final radical in order to indicate the intensive stem, producing *qāmāna*, *qāmim*, *qōmēm*, is untenable especially because the *Qal* stem is not *qāna*, but *qāma*. The long *a* becoming *ō* in *qōmem* is thus unaccounted for.

Barth's explanation, which is based on the triconsonantal theory of verbs *י"ע*, has been accepted by Kautzsch (Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebrew Gram.*²⁷, § 72 m), although he follows the biconsonantal explanation of the verbs *י"ע* (and *י"ע*, § 67). There are, however, certain difficulties in Barth's exposition, apart from the fact that it is based on the triconsonantal explanation, which render it impossible to accept his theory. His explanation is briefly as follows.

A weighty indication that the *Pi'lel* (*Pō'lel*) did not arise in the verbs *י"ע* is the fact that they can and do form a regular *Pi'el*, e. g., *הִלֵּל*, etc., in Hebrew as in the other languages. In the verbs *י"ע*, *Pi'el* forms do not properly occur because of the difficulty of pronouncing an *intervocalic* [my italics] sharpened waw [as if a doubled *י* could be anything but intervocalic!]; only the *Pi'lel* with reduplicated final consonant, as in *קִיָּים*, is found. The reduplication of this final consonant in this stem of roots *י"ע* is supported by a similar reduplication in certain nominal forms in Arabic and Hebrew. In Arabic no verbal form with this reduplication is made in verbs *י"ע*,—only nominal forms occur. These nouns, in which no intensive meaning is present, are the peculiar *inf*'s. like *بَيْنُونَةٌ* 'go away'

¹ *Lehrbuch*⁸, §§ 121a, 125a.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 2, 3.

³ *Hebrew Gram.*, § 155 c, d.

⁴ *Die Pōlāl-Conjugation und die Pōlāl-Participien in Semitic Studies in Honor of Alexander Kohut*, Berlin, 1897, p. 83-93, especially p. 84.

(⁵بَان *med. i*), ⁵كَيْنُونَةٌ 'be' (⁵كَان *med. u*), etc.; the two *inf's*. ⁵سُودٌ 'rule', ⁵عُوطٌ 'be pregnant'; and the broken plurals ⁵عُوطٌ 'pregnant' and ⁵حُوكَلٌ 'barren for a long time (camels)', all from roots *med. waw* and *med. yod*. In the case of roots *med. geminatae* no corresponding formations occur. In Hebrew the nouns ⁵נִיחַ 'pleasure', (⁵נִיחַ √), ⁵כִּידוֹר 'spark' (Arabic ⁵كَاد 'emit fire') from roots ⁵ע"ע have this same reduplication. Only ⁵נִצְנִץ 'spark' from ⁵נִצַּץ 'sparkle' is from a root ⁵ע"ע. This may be formed on the analogy of its synonym ⁵כִּידוֹר. Except for this single instance, formations in Semitic corresponding to the *Pi'tel* are always from roots ⁵ע"י.

The same result is, according to Barth, arrived at from a consideration of the Hebrew participles ⁵שׁוֹקֵב, ⁵עוֹלֵל, with which he says ⁵דוֹמֵם and the uncertain ⁵שׁוֹלֵל are connected as regards formation. On ⁵שׁוֹלֵל he lays little stress, since its meaning, and hence its root, is obscure. These participles are not intensive in meaning, but are simply *Qal*. Trans. in force, although having an apparently pass. or intrans. vowel ⁵ in the second syllable, they are really *qattāl* forms represented in Hebrew by ⁵נִנָּב, ⁵נִנָּח, etc., in strong roots; by ⁵נִיֵּץ, ⁵נִיֵּץ in roots *med. i*. Accordingly from roots *med. u* of which no *qattāl* form occurs the original form of these participles was *qawwām*. A "sharpened" *w* being avoided in Hebrew more than a "sharpened" *j* [ʔ], the doubled *w* was given up, being replaced by the reduplication of the following radical, so that *qawwām* became *qawmām*, *qōmām*, the change of *aw* to *ō* being similar to that in ⁵מֹות from ⁵מֹות.

Like these participles the *Pi'tel* is to be explained. From ⁵קוֹם the *qittāl* must originally have been *qawwēm* with *ā* for *i* in the first syllable. The intervocalic sharpened *w* was avoided by substituting the reduplication of the final radical so that from *qawwēm*, *qawmēm* becoming *qōmēm* arose.

In this explanation there is little that is convincing. That the nominal forms like ⁵بَيْنُونَةٌ, etc., have in Arabic a reduplicated final consonant like the *Pi'tel* proves nothing for this verbal stem in Hebrew since the origin of these forms is obscure

and a matter of dispute. Barth's explanation of them is no better than that of the grammarians which he rejects. He says¹ that ⁵בִּינוֹנָה, e. g., arose from ⁵בִּינוֹן, beside which it occurs, because the phonetic sequence *-uīū* was unpleasant. This was obviated by inserting a consonant identical with the last one after the *i* so that we get *būīnūn*. In the first syllable of this form, *ū* was changed to *ā*, and thus *bāīnūnat* arose. The changes that Barth assumes here are all unsupported by similar phenomena elsewhere, and are therefore entirely gratuitous. It may be that the forms like ⁵בִּינוֹנָה arose from an analogical combination of the two regular *inf*'s. like ⁵בִּיֵּן and ⁵בִּיוֹן. If this be true there is no organic reduplication in these forms. At any rate there is nothing in forms like ⁵בִּינוֹנָה, about the origin of which nothing is really known, that is like the *Pi'el*, except the reduplicated final radical. Similarly the isolated forms ⁵חֹלֵל, ⁵סוֹדֵס, ⁵עוֹזֵז prove nothing.

In Hebrew the nominal forms ⁵נִיצוֹן, ⁵כִּידוֹר, ⁵נִיחֹם are entirely too few to base any conclusions upon. Since ⁵נִיצוֹן is from a root ⁵נִיעַ and there are only two other examples of this formation, it is just as possible to conclude that the formation originated in roots ⁵נִיעַ and were transferred to those *med. u*, especially since the root of ⁵כִּידוֹר, which occurs only in Job. 41, 11, does not occur as a verb in Hebrew.

Likewise the few forms ⁵שׁוֹלֵל, ⁵דּוֹמָם, ⁵עוֹלָל, ⁵שׁוֹבֵב prove nothing. Barth himself attaches no importance to ⁵שׁוֹלֵל. It is most likely derived from a root ⁵עִיעַ. ⁵דּוֹמָם is usually explained as having the adverbial ending ⁵ם, cf. Ges.-Kautzsch²⁰, § 100 g; Gesenius-Buhl¹⁴, s. v.² There is no compelling reason for regarding ⁵דּוֹמָם as anything but an adverb in the three passages that it occurs. In ⁵אֵבֶן דּוֹמָם Hab. 2, 19 we must connect ⁵דּוֹמָם with what follows, according to the suggestion made in the latest (14th) edition of Gesenius' Dictionary. In Lam. 3: 26 it is difficult to see how not to make ⁵דּוֹמָם an adverb. A. V.

¹ *Die Nominalbildung in den Semitischen Sprachen*, Leipzig, 1889, 1891, pp. 211, 212.

² In the 13th ed. Barth's explanation was given.

translates, "It is good that a man should both hope and wait quietly (דוֹמֵם), etc." In Is. 47, 5, דוֹמֵם is clearly an adverb. Moreover the change of ך to ך in דוֹמֵם which Barth assumes is unexplained. This leaves only the two forms שׁוֹבֵב and עוֹלֵל upon which to base any conclusions. This would be precarious even if Barth had correctly explained them. But granting that they were originally *qattāl* formations as he says, there is no support for the supposition that the "intervocalic sharpened *w*," which must originally have been present, e. g., *qawwām*, in verbs "*med. w*," was any more unpleasant to the ear or difficult to pronounce in Hebrew in case of forms "*med. w*" than in forms "*med. j*," e. g., צִיד, יֵיץ. We find a considerable number of forms with doubled ך, e. g., עוֹל, יְעוֹל, עוֹר, etc., and in verbs "the first radical ך is regularly doubled in the *Niph. impf., inv., and inf.*, e. g., יִדְרַע, etc. In the case of forms like עוֹר, עוֹת, etc., Barth tries to obviate this difficulty by the remark¹ "Wurzeln mit durchweg cons. behandelten *w*, . . . , gehören nicht hierher." There is, however, no reason why "die Wurzeln mit . . . cons. . . . *w* gehören nicht hierher." There can be no difference between original *w* in *qawwām*, if such there was (which the biconsonantal theory denies; cons. ך that appears in roots ע"י is secondary), and that in עוֹל, עוֹת, רוח, etc., where ך appears everywhere as a consonant, cf. König, *Lehrgebäude* I, p. 453. The case of the *Niph.*'s like יִדְרַע Barth does not consider. Moreover even though a doubled *w* were objectionable in Hebrew, as the preceding shows it was not, there is no parallel for reduplicating a radical in compensation for the lack of doubling in another. The approved method of compensation for the omission of doubling is to heighten the short vowel preceding the doubled consonant, as is done in countless instances in the case of the article, the *Niph. impf., inv., and inf.* of verbs *primae gutt.*, e. g., יַעֲמֹד, הַעֲמֹד, etc. Accordingly it is impossible to assume that an original *qawwām* became *qawmēm*.

Similarly the *Pi'āl* stem cannot be explained as coming from an original *qāwwēm* (*qāwwēm*) becoming *qōmēm*. In fact it is

¹ *Die Pōlāl-Conjugation*, p. 90, n. 3.

absolutely impossible to assume such a verbal form as *qawwēm* in roots ע"ע, as it was shown above that these roots had no middle radical. Consequently no form like *qāwawēm*, etc., ever existed in Hebrew; the forms ע"ע, ע"ע, etc., with doubled ו and ' , are not Hebrew.

We must, therefore, look for the origin of the *Pi'lel* elsewhere, and it is in the verbs ע"ע that it is found, as Ewald and Hartmann saw. It is not necessary to assume with Hartmann that the *Pi'lel* represents the III form of the Arabic. Ewald explained the *o* in סוּבַּב, e. g., as due to the obscuration of *a*. This *a* arose from *ā* in compensation for the difficult doubling of the second radical in סַבַּב. To this explanation Barth objects that it presupposes an *ā* after the first radical of the root, which does not occur in the Hebrew period, the form being always *sibbēb*, although he assumes *ā* for *ī* in his own explanation of *qāwawēm* for *qūwawēm*. See above, p. 312, ¶ 2.

In the *imperfect*, however, as well as the forms agreeing with it in structure, viz., the *inv.* and *inf.*, the regular forms are סַבַּב, etc. Here the original *ā* after the first radical is retained throughout. *šsābbēb* accordingly would become *šsābbēb*, with *a* lengthened from *ā* in compensation, as soon as the doubling of the second radical is given up. The *a* is then obscured to *o*, as frequently in Hebrew, and hence the form סוּבַּב. From the *impf.* the *o* was then transferred to the *perf.*, e. g., סוּבַּב.²

That there is a tendency to avoid the occurrence of three identical consonants in two successive syllables as in the *Pi'lel* of verbs ע"ע, not only in Hebrew but in other languages, is seen from the fact that in classical Arabic beside such forms as مَدَدَت, تَقَضَّضَت, etc., with doubled 2d radical identical with the 3d, we find مَدَّيْتُ, تَقَضَّيْتُ, etc., with the 3d radical replaced by the diphthong *āi*, on account of the

¹ So also König, *Lehrgeb.* I, p. 349, in the case of verbs ע"ע; Bickell, § 116; and Land § 55 (two latter quoted by König).

² In this explanation I have followed the principles established by Prof. Haupt, viz., that the *impf.* is older than the *perf.* (cf. his article in *Jour. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, New Series X, 1878, pp. 244-252), and that the origin of verbal forms is to be sought in the *impf.* as the more original form.

“heaping up” of consonants. Cf. Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften* I, p. 138; Wright-deGoeje, *Arabic Gram.*³ I, p. 69 C. In modern Arabic even the simple *Qal* forms like مَدَدْتُ with repeated consonant are given up, and forms like مَدَّيْتُ only are used.¹ In fact modern Arabic goes even farther in the case of such forms, using the form of verbs *tertiæ* ع instead of those *mediæ geminatae*,¹ e. g., مَدَّيْتُ for مَدَدْتُ.

The *Pi'el* is therefore formed on the basis of the *Pi'el* of verbs ע"ע; the doubling of the second radical is given up on account of the tendency to avoid a succession of three identical consonants in two successive syllables, and the preceding short *ä* is lengthened in compensation to *a*, and this is further obscured to *o*. The corresponding passive form, the *Pi'elal*, has *ä* in the second syllable, e. g., סוּבַב, יְסוּבַב. The indication of the distinction between act. and pass. by י (ē in Hebrew) and ä, respectively, is regular in Arabic in the impf., not only of the intensive stems II, III, but also of the IV, VII, VIII, and X forms, e. g., II form יִقְטַל *act.*, יִقְטַל *pass.*, etc.

From the verbs ע"ע the *Pi'el* was transferred to the verbs ע"י.

¹ Cf. Spitta, *Gram. des arab. Vulgärdialectes von Aegypten*, Leipzig, 1880, p. 216.

*Contributions to Comparative Philippine Grammar.*¹—By
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INTRODUCTION.

The languages of the Philippine Islands so far as they are known² form a closely related group of tongues belonging to the great Malayo-Polynesian family, which embraces the languages of practically all the islands between the east coast of Asia and the west coast of America south of 30° north latitude, with the exception of Papua and Australia, and also includes the languages spoken on the Malay peninsula at the south-eastern extremity of the continent of Asia, and on the island of Madagascar off the coast of Africa.

¹ In the spelling of Philippine words in this paper, *k* is used instead of the older *c* and *qu*; *g* instead of *gu* before *i*, *e*; *w* instead of consonantal *u* before a vowel; *i* for initial *y* before a consonant; but with these exceptions it has seemed best to retain the traditional orthography. As in most of the languages the accent of words is not given, the accent marks have been omitted throughout, except where they indicate a difference in meaning, and in the case of *^* and *`* in Tagalog, which indicate a final glottal catch (cf. below, p. 335). For the reformed spelling in Tagalog, cf. the foot-notes to my paper, *The Expression of Case by the Verb in Tagalog*, in this volume of the Journal.

² The languages of the Negritos, the diminutive black people who live in scattered tribes in the interior mountain ranges of the larger islands, and who are probably the remnant of the aborigines of the Archipelago, are said by certain Spanish authorities (cf. *El Archipiélago Filipino*, Washington, 1900, vol. 1, p. 229; Lacalle y Sánchez, *Tierras y razas del archipiélago filipino*, Manila, 1886, p. 246) to be entirely different from those of the other inhabitants of the islands. These authorities state furthermore that the idioms of all the Negritos practically constitute one language, and that this language is of monsyllabic structure as opposed to the dissyllabic structure of the Malay tongues. However true this may have been originally, at the present day it is certain that those Negrito dialects about which anything is known are very similar in vocabulary and grammatical structure to the other Philippine languages. It is probable, however, that the Negritos have in such cases more or less completely adopted the languages of the neighboring Malay tribes (cf. A. B. Meyer, *Die Philippinen, II. Negritos*, Dresden, 1893 (Königl. ethnogr. Museum zu Dresden, ix), p. 36 ff.

It is perhaps useless to hazard any conjectures as to the primitive seat of the Malayo-Polynesians, whose ancient history is practically a sealed book, but it seems most likely that the cradle of the race was on some of the numerous islands which it now inhabits, possibly some of the large islands in the vicinity of the Malay peninsula.

From this birthplace the ancient Malayo-Polynesians, forced doubtless by the increase in population, must have spread out in a series of waves or swarms, just as in the case of the primitive Indo-Europeans and Semites. Crossing at first by means of their canoes over the comparatively short stretches of sea between their home and the neighboring islands, they gradually pushed further and further out into the unknown, passing from island to island until they had occupied almost all the available land space of the Pacific. Some of the islands they probably found unoccupied, in others they must have come in contact with an inferior black race similar to that inhabiting Papua and Australia, as is shown by the remnants of this race which are found pushed back into the interior mountain ranges of some of the larger islands, notably the Philippines.

The peopling of the Malayo-Polynesian territory probably took place in three great waves or series of waves, to which correspond the three grand divisions of the Malayo-Polynesian languages, viz., the Polynesian, the Melanesian, and the Malay. The 180th meridian forms approximately the boundary between the Polynesian and Melanesian divisions from the north as far south as the latitude of the Fiji islands, practically all the languages spoken east of this line being Polynesian. Further south the line bends to the west, the native language of New Zealand belonging to the Polynesian division. West of the dividing line the Melanesian division extends in a north-westerly direction from the Fiji islands on the south, including the languages of the principal islands of Melanesia and Micronesia. The Malay embraces the languages of the Malay peninsula, the East India islands, the Philippines, and Madagascar.

The Philippine languages, then, may be more accurately defined as a subdivision of the Malay branch of the Malayo-Polynesian family of speech.

The estimated number of Philippine languages varies according to the different authorities. The well known Spanish Fili-

pinologist W. E. Retana, in his latest bibliographical work on the Philippines,¹ enumerates twenty-five different idioms; the great Philippine specialist, Professor Ferdinand Blumentritt, of Leitmeritz in Bohemia, in his brief survey of Philippine races and languages,² mentions at least thirty; while in an encyclopedic work on the Philippines prepared by the Jesuits, 'El Archipiélago Filipino,'³ the number given exceeds fifty.

Of many of the languages enumerated in the larger estimates, practically nothing is known but the name, and it is quite possible that many of these names are simply alternate designations of the better known languages, or, at most, designations of some slightly variant dialect. Beginning at the extreme north of the Archipelago, the languages about which anything definite is known are as follows.

Batan is the language of the Batan and Babuyan islands to the north of Luzon.

On the island of Luzon, Tagalog, the most important and best known of the Philippine languages, is spoken from coast to coast, in the middle region of the island, in the latitude of Manila Bay. On the west coast its territory does not extend north of the Bay, but on the east it reaches as far north as the province of Isabela, the most northerly but one of the provinces on the east coast, in which is situated the town of Palanan, where Aguinaldo was captured by General Funston. On the south and south-east it extends some distance down into what might be called the tail of Luzon, trenching on the domain of Bikol, which occupies the remainder of the southern part of the island. In the region north and west of the Tagalog district are spoken a number of languages. Ibanag prevails in the north-east, in the valley of the Cagayan river, the greatest tobacco-raising district in the island; Ilokan occupies the north and west coasts, extending as far south as the gulf of Lingayen, between which and the Bay of Manila are found Pangasinan, Tino or Zambal, and Pampangan. In the mountainous district of the interior are spoken the various Igorot dialects, among which

¹ *Catálogo abreviado de la biblioteca filipina*, Madrid, 1898.

² Cf. *List of Native Tribes of the Philippines and of the languages spoken by them*, trans. by O. T. Mason in Report of Smithsonian Inst. for the year ending June, 1899; Washington, 1901, pp. 527-547.

³ Washington, 1900; cf. vol. 1, pp. 1-148 *passim*.

it is probable that Gaddán, Ginaán, Ilongot, and Isinay are to be classed.¹

On the Bisayan islands, which lie between Luzon and Mindanao, and on the north and east coasts of the latter island, Bisayan is spoken in a number of different dialects.²

Sulu is used by the Moros of the Sulu subarchipelago, which extends from the western extremity of Mindanao towards Borneo. The Moro tribes of Mindanao, which occupy parts of the west and southwest of that island, speak two almost identical dialects, Magindanao and Malanao. Of the numerous other idioms reported as spoken on Mindanao, we know practically nothing about any except Bagobo, which is found near the great volcano Apo in the south-eastern part of the island, and Tiruray, which occupies a district near the Moro territory in the south-west.

The island of Mindoro, which lies to the south of Luzon and west of the Bisayas, forms the domain of Mangyan, about which, so far as I know, nothing has yet been published.¹ The principal language of the Calamianes and the long narrow island of Palawan, which form a chain stretching from Mindoro to the south-west towards Borneo, is Tagbanwa, of which the idioms of Agutaya and Cuyo, two small islands between Palawan and the Bisayas, are perhaps simply dialects,² though they are usually given as distinct languages.

The tribes that speak these languages fall into three general groups according to their religion. Those that speak Iatan, Ibanag, Ilokan, Pangasinan, Zambal, Pampangan, Tagalog, Bikol, Bisayan, Agutayan,³ and Koyuvan⁴ are Christians; the Sulus, Magindanaos, and Malanaos are Mohammedans; while the remaining tribes mentioned are still pagans.

Three different alphabets are in use in the Archipelago, viz.

- 1) that of the pagan Tagbanwas and Mangyans;⁴ 2) that of the

¹ Cf. *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1903, Part 2, p. 780.

² Cf. my paper *The Bisayan Dialects*, JAOS. xxvi, 1905, pp. 120-136.

³ Cf. Blumentritt, *The Philippines*, trans. by D. J. Doherty, Chicago, 1900, p. 24.

⁴ The Mangyan alphabet, however, is treated in the following, viz., Blumentritt, *Die Mangianenschrift von Mindoro*, Braunschweig, 1896; A. B. Meyer, Schadenberg and Foy, *Die Mangianenschrift von Mindoro*, Berlin, 1895=*Abhandl. u. Berichte d. Königl. zoolog. u. anthropol.-ethnogr. Museums zu Dresden*, No. 15.

Mohammedan tribes, the Arabic alphabet with some additional signs to denote some peculiar native sounds;¹ 3) the Roman alphabet introduced by the Spaniards, in which all the languages of the Christian tribes, and all those of pagan tribes which have been reduced to writing by Spanish missionaries, are written.

At the time of the Spanish conquest, the principal of the now Christian tribes possessed alphabets that are practically identical with those of the Tagbanwas and Mangyans,² and it is probable that the Mohammedan tribes originally had similar alphabets. These ancient alphabets have in both cases been superseded by that of the race whose religion has been adopted. In the Mohammedan tribes no trace of them has been preserved, and their use in the Christian tribes seems to have died out about the middle of the eighteenth century.³

The archetype of these natives alphabets seems to have been of Indian origin. As in the Indian alphabets, every consonantal character without addition represents the consonant followed by the vowel *a*, the other vowels being indicated by secondary marks. There was no way of expressing a consonant without a following vowel, hence such a consonant was omitted in writing.⁴

¹ Similarly there are some additional characters in the Arabic alphabet adapted to Malay, Persian, Turkish, and Hindustani, cf. Marsden, *A Gram. of the Malayan Language*, London, 1812, p. 1 f.; Salemann und Shukovski, *Persische Gram.* Berlin, 1889, § 1; A. Müller, *Türkische Gram.* Berlin, 1889, § 5; Vinson, *Manuel de la langue hindoustani*, Paris 1899, p. 5. In like manner the Amharic alphabet is the Ethiopic with some additional characters to denote some peculiar Amharic sounds, while Coptic is written in the Greek uncial alphabet with seven additional characters borrowed from Demotic: cf. Praetorius, *Die Amharische Sprache*, Halle, 1879, p. 17, § 1a; Steindorff, *Koptische Grammatik*, 2^{te} ed., Berlin, 1904, p. 5.

² Cf. Marcillo y Martín, *Estudio de los antiguos alfabetos filipinos*, Malabón, 1895.

³ Totanes in his *Arte de la lengua tagala*, Sampaloc, 1745, states that at his time very few natives could read this alphabet, and that hardly any could write it: cf. the later edition, Binondo, 1865, p. 1.

⁴ This defect was remedied by the Austin friar Francisco Lopez, who in his Ilokan catechism (1631) written in Tagalog characters made use of a diacritical mark, similar in its nature to the Sanskrit *virāma* or Arabic *sukūn*, to indicate a consonant standing alone; cf. *El Archipiélago Filipino*, vol. 1, p. 227.

The Roman alphabet, which is used in writing the native languages, was formerly conformed to the peculiarities of Spanish orthography, but lately a number of improvements in spelling have been introduced, the most important being the use of *k* for *c* and *qu*, and *w* for consonantal *u*.

The Philippine languages have been influenced to some extent, principally in their vocabulary, by the languages with which they have come in contact. The vocabularies of some of them, notably Tagalog and Bisayan, contain, in common with the other Malayan languages, a number of Sanskrit words, e. g., Tagalog and Bisayan *basu* 'read' (San. *bhāṣā* 'languages'), *halaga* 'price' (San. *argha*).¹

The languages spoken by the Mohammedan tribes, the most important of which are Magindanao and Sulu, contain a number of Arabic words, e. g., Magindanao and Sulu *dunia* 'world' (Arabic *دُنْيَا* *dunīā*), Mag. *alatala*, *alahutaala*, Sulu *allah-taala* 'God' (Arabic *الله تَعَالَى* *allahu ta'ālā* 'God, may he be exalted').

The Christian tribes have adopted a considerable body of Spanish terms, e. g., *Dios* 'God,' *pade*, *pare* 'priest.'

A few Chinese words are found in Tagalog as designations of things specifically Chinese, e. g., *cha* or *sa* 'tea' (Chin. *tea*), *miki* 'a kind of vermicelli' (Chin. *mi-ki*).

At present the various languages are being subjected to the influence of English, and English words will probably be more or less extensively borrowed. Already in the northern part of Luzon the English phrase 'no got' is in common use.²

Spanish, besides influencing to some degree the native vocabularies, has also left its mark in a few cases on the grammatical construction. In Tagalog, for example, the cumbersome native method of coördinating pronouns and numerals, as in *kami niya* 'he and I' literally 'his we,' has been more or less completely

¹ Cf. H. Kern, *Sanskritische woorden in het Tagala*, Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië, 4^{de} Volg., D. 4, 1880, pp. 535-564; *Sanskritische woorden in het Bisaya*, *ibid.*, 4^{de} Volg., D. 5, pp. 128-135; T. H. Pardo de Tavera, *El Sanscrito en la lengua agala*, Paris, 1887: cf. also my paper, *Sanskrit Loan-words in Tagalog*, JHU. Circs., No. 163, pp. 63-65.

² Cf. A. E. Jenks, *The Bontoc Igorot*, Manila, 1905 (=Ethnological Survey Publications, vol. 1), p. 158.

driven from the field by the simpler Spanish construction with copulative conjunction.¹

The materials for the study of the Philippine languages consist of texts, collections of conversational phrases, grammars, dictionaries, and vocabularies. Grammars and dictionaries of some sort exist of most of the languages mentioned; the others must be studied without these helps. The languages that are included in the following comparative studies are, viz., Tagalog, Bisayan (Cebuano, Hiliguayna, Samaro-Leytean, Harayan), Bikol, Pampangan, Pangasinan, Ilokan, Igorot (Nabaloi, Bontok), Ibanag, Batan, Magindanao, Sulu, and Bagobo.²

GENERAL FEATURES.

The most important characteristics which the Philippine languages possess in common are the following.

Words are made up of roots and particles. Roots are mainly dissyllabic and indicate nominal or verbal ideas; practically all

¹ Cf. W. G. Seiple, *The Tagalog Numerals*, JHU. Circa., No. 163, pp. 79-81.

² The principal grammars and dictionaries employed are, viz.: Totanes, *Arte de la lengua tagala*, reimpr., Binondo, 1865; Campomanes, *Leciones de gramática hispano-tagala*, Manila, 1872; Minguella, *Ensayo de gramática hispano-tagala*, Manila, 1878; Noceda, *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala*, 3^a ed., Manila, 1860; Zueco, *Metodo del Dr. Ollendorff . . . adaptado al bisaya*, Manila, 1871; Bermejo, *Arte compendiado de la lengua cebuana*, 2^a ed., Tambobong, 1894; Mentrída and Aparicio, *Arte de la lengua bisaya-hiligayna*, Tambobong, 1894; Lozano, *Cursos de lengua panayana*, Manila, 1876; Figueroa, *Arte del idioma visaya de Samar y Leyte*, 2^a ed., Binondo, 1872; Encarnación, *Diccionario bisaya-español*, 3^a ed., Manila, 1885; San Agustín and Crespo, *Arte de la lengua bicol*, Manila, 1879; Bergaño, *Arte de la lengua pampanga*, 2^a ed. (?), Sampaloc, 1736; Pellicer, *Arte de la lengua pangasinana*, reimpr., Manila, 1862; Cosgaya, *Diccionario pangasinan-español*, Manila, 1865; Naves, *Gramática hispano-ilocana*, 2^a ed., Tambobong, 1892; Carro, *Vocabulario iloco-español*, 2^a ed., Manila, 1888; Sheerer, *The Nabaloi dialect*, Ethnological Survey Publications, vol. II, Part II, pp. 95-171, Manila, 1905; Jenks, *The Bontoc Igorot*, vol. 1 of series cited, Manila, 1905, pp. 227-248; De Cuevas, *Arte nuevo de la lengua ybanág*, 2^a ed., Manila, 1854; (Batan grammar) cf. Retana, *Archivo del bibliófilo filipino*, vol. II, Madrid, 1896, pp. xxxviii-xl; Juanmartí, *Gramática de la lengua de Magindanao*, Manila, 1892; Cowie, *English-Sulu-Malay Vocabulary*, London, 1893; Gisbert, *Diccionario bagobo-español* and *español-bagobo*, Manila, 1892.

may be used unchanged as significant words; e. g., Tagalog *tauwo* 'man,' *ibig* 'wish, want.' Particles are mainly monosyllabic, some being independent words indicating pronominal and adverbial ideas, others being used only in combination with roots to form derivative nouns and verbs, e. g., Tagalog *ka* 'thou,' *na* 'now, already,' *mag*, a prefix used to form active verbs, e. g., *mag-laró* 'play, sport' from *laró*. From these ultimate components of the language other words are formed:

- a) by reduplication of the root, e. g., Tagalog *susulat* 'will write' from *sulat* 'write';
- b) by the combination of two or more particles, e. g., Tagalog *na-man* 'also,' from *na* 'now' and *man* 'even';
- c) by the combination of the root with one or more derivative particles, e. g., Tagalog *s-um-sulat* 'write (imper. and inf.),' *s-in-sulat-an* 'was written on,' from *sulat*.

These languages are practically non-inflectional, there being no inflection except in some few instances in the pronoun and the verb, the variation being regularly at the beginning of the word. Pronouns are varied to express case, as a general thing three cases being distinguished, a nominative, a so-called genitive that is also the case of the agent and instrument, a so-called oblique that is used to represent all locative relations, place where, place whither, and place whence, including the dative and ablative of persons; e. g., Tagalog *ito* 'this,' *nito* 'of this,' *dito* 'in or to this.' In the verb differences in voice, mode and tense may be indicated by change of the initial sound of a form, e. g., Tagalog *mag-laró* 'to play,' *naglaró* 'played,' *paglaró*, passive stem of same verb, where *m* indicates the infinitive, *n* the preterit, and *p* the passive.

There is no formal distinction of gender even in the case of the pronouns of the third person. Whenever it is necessary to indicate the gender expressly, words meaning 'male' and 'female' must be used in connection with the epicene noun or pronoun, e. g., from Tagalog *kabayo* 'horse,' *kabayo-ng lalaki* 'stallion,' and *kabayo-ng babayi* 'mare;' except in the case of certain nouns of relationship, where different words are used to express difference in gender, e. g., Tagalog *ama* 'father,' *ina* 'mother.' Even with these nouns the same word often denotes a relative of either sex, and the words for 'male' and 'female' must be

used when it is necessary to avoid ambiguity, e. g., Tagalog *anak* 'son or daughter,' *anak na lalaki* 'son,' *anak na babayi* 'daughter.'

These languages possess what might be called personal articles, i. e., words of a particular nature which are placed before names of persons to denote case, e. g., Tagalog *si Pedro* 'Pedro,' *ni Pedro* 'of Pedro.' Many of them also have an article, the so-called inclusive article, which is placed before the name of a person to denote that with him are included those who are associated with him in any way, as his companions, friends, family, etc., e. g., Tagalog *sina Pedro* 'Pedro and his associates.'

The pronoun of the first person plural has regularly two forms, one of which includes, while the other excludes, the person addressed; for example, a Tagalog might say to a Spaniard *tayo-ng kristiano* 'we Christians,' using the inclusive 'we' *tayo*, but *kami-ng Tagalog* 'we Tagalogs,' using the exclusive 'we' *kami*.³

An extensive use is made of certain particles called ligatures to connect words, phrases, and sentences which stand to one another in the relation of modifier and modified.⁴ They stand for example between adjective and noun; verb and adverb; noun or verb and dependent clause, in this case playing the part

¹ These remarks apply also to the expression of gender in Malay, (cf. Marsden, *op. cit.* p. 29; Crawfurd, *A Gram. and Dict. of the Malay Lang.*, London, 1852, vol. i, p. 10; Seidel, *Praktische Gram. der Malayischen Sprache*, Hartleben's Verlag [Wien, Pest, Leipzig], p. 18); and in Javanese (cf. Bohatta, *Praktische Gram. der Javanischen Sprache*, Hartleben's Verl.), p. 31.

² Personal articles are found also in Malay and Madagascan; in Malay it is *si*, cf. Favre, *Grammaire de la langue malaise*, Vienne, 1876, pp. 59, 92. The principal ones in Madagascan are *i* and *ra*, cf. Brandstetter, *Tagalen und Madagassen*, Luzern, 1902, p. 79 f.; Parker, *A concise Gram. of the Malagasy Language*, London, 1883, p. 47.

³ The same distinction is made also in Malay between *kita* (inc.) and *kami* (exc.), and in Madagascan between *isika* (inc.) and *izahay* (exc.); cf. Marsden, *op. cit.*, p. 45; Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

⁴ Traces of similar particles are found in Madagascan and some other Malayan languages, cf. Brandstetter, *Tag. u. Mad.*, pp. 76, 83. In languages of other families, similar particles are the connective *i* in modern Persian (cf. Salemann and Shukovski, *op. cit.*, p. 30, § 16), and the genitive sign *n* in Egyptian and Coptic (cf. Ermann, *Ägyptische Gram.* 2^{te} Aufl., Berlin, 1902, p. 64; Steindorff, *op. cit.*, pp. 79 f., 83).

of relative pronouns and subordinate conjunctions; e. g., in Tagalog *tawo-ng mabuti* 'good man,' *mabuti-ng ginawa* 'well done,' *tawo-ng minamahal nang lahat* 'a man who is esteemed by all,' the modifier and modified are connected by the ligature *-ng*.

The ideas of 'to be in a place' and 'to have' are not expressed by verbs, but by particles which may be called quasi-verbs, in Tagalog *na*, *may*, e. g., *ang libro'y na sa lamesa* 'the book is on the table;' *ito-ng tawo'y may asawa* 'this man has a wife.'

Verbs are generally made by combining derivative particles with the root. These particles are very numerous and their uses very various. By means of them voice, mode, and tense are distinguished, and also a variety of other modifications of the verbal meaning, such as the causative, emphatic, etc.; for example from a root *aral* in Tagalog are formed,

<i>um-aral</i> 'teach.'	<i>magsi-aral</i> 'teach (of many).'
<i>mag-aral</i> 'study, learn.'	<i>magpaka-aral</i> 'teach earnestly.'
<i>manġ-aral</i> 'preach.'	<i>ungm-aral</i> 'taught.'
<i>maka-aral</i> 'be able to teach.'	<i>nag-aral</i> 'learned.'
<i>magpa-aral</i> 'order, command to teach.'	<i>aralin</i> 'be taught.'
	<i>inaral</i> 'was taught.'
<i>maki-aral</i> 'join with someone in teaching.'	<i>pag-aral-in</i> 'be studied.'
	<i>pinag-aral</i> 'was studied.'
<i>pa-aral</i> 'ask for instruction.'	etc., etc.

Perhaps the most salient feature of these languages is the prevailing use of the passive construction, active verbs not being used except when the agent is the most emphatic element of the sentence; for example in Tagalog in the sentence 'he is reading a book,' 'he' is more emphatic than the indefinite 'book,' hence the active is used, viz., *siya'y binngmabasa nang libro*, while in the sentence 'he is reading this book' the definite object is ordinarily more emphatic than the agent, hence the passive is employed, e. g., *ito-ng libro'y binabasa niya*.¹

In the present imperfect state of our knowledge of the Philippine languages any complete classification and subdivision is of course impracticable, but it is possible nevertheless to distinguish certain general groups.

¹ Cf. my paper, *The Expression of Case by the Verb in Tagalog*, in this volume of the Journal, pp. 183-189.

The most important of these is a Northern Group, including the principal languages of North Luzon and the islands to the north, viz., Batan, Ibanag, Ilokan, Pangasinan, and the Igorot dialects as far as they are known; and a Central Group, including Tagalog, Bikol, and Bisayan. Between these two groups lies Pampangan, which partakes in a measure of the peculiarities of both. In the south the dialects of the Magindanao and Malanao Moros belong together, while Bagobo and Sulu occupy isolated positions, Sulu being more like Malay than any of the other Philippine languages. The principal phonetic difference between the languages of the Northern and Central Groups is that the former have no *h* sound (cf. below, p. 335).

The principal differences in grammatical structure between these two groups are the following.

In general the languages of the Northern Group form their plural by reduplication of the singular, e. g., Ilok. *balay* 'house,' *balbalay* 'houses.' The languages of the Central Group employ a special prepositive particle *manġa* for this purpose, e. g., Tag. *bahay* 'house,' *manġa bahay* 'houses.'

The Northern Group possesses the ligature *a* which is not found as such in the Central Group, e. g., Ilok. *naimbag a tao* 'good man.'

In the Northern Group the personal pronouns have in general two forms of the nominative, an emphatic and a non-emphatic form; for example, 'I' in Ilokan is represented by *siak* when emphatic, by *ak* when not emphatic. In the Central Group as a regular thing only one form of the nominative is employed, e. g., Tag. *ako* 'I.' On the other hand, in the Central Group these pronouns have both a prepositive and a postpositive form of the genitive, e. g., Tag. *aking ulo* and *ulo ko* 'my head;' while in the Northern Group only postpositive forms are found, e. g., Ilok. *balay ko* 'my house,' *aso-k* 'my dog.'

As a general thing the languages of the Northern Group distinguish only two tense forms of the verb, viz., a preterit and a form to represent all the other tenses, e. g., Ilok., *manġaramid*, pret. *nanġaramid* 'do, make.' In the Central Group as many as four tense and mode forms are distinguished, viz., a modal, used for infinitive, imperative, and subjunctive; a future; a preterit; and a present: e. g., Tag.,

maglaró 'to play.'

maglaró 'did play.'

maglalaró 'will play.'

maglalaró 'is playing.'

The languages of the Central Group possess three passive forms, by means of which not only the direct object of the verbal action may be made subject, but also words standing in other case relations of the verb, such as dative, instrumental, ablative, etc.¹

In the Northern Group this function of the verb has been still further developed, the languages of this group possessing not only three passives, but also a number of other passive verbal forms called verbals, made on the basis of the verbal noun of action with prefixed *pug*, *pan*, etc. These take the place to some extent of the *i* and *an* passives of the Central Group. Examples of these forms in Ilokan are,

daytoy ti pagpunas-mo kadagiti pinggan 'wash the plates with this (this the washing-instrument thine to the plates).'

ania nga oras ti panagmisa ti pare 'at what hour does the priest celebrate mass (what hour the mass-celebrating-time of the priest)?'

*asin ti pagsuratayo (<*an-yo)*² 'to whom are you writing (who the writing-aim yours)?'

Pampangan, which, as was stated above, partakes in a measure of the peculiarities of both the Northern and Central Groups, agrees with the Northern Group in not having the consonant *h*, and in possessing the ligature *a*, both emphatic and non-emphatic forms of the nominative, and exclusively postpositive genitive forms of the personal pronouns; but with the Central in possessing more than two tense and mode forms of the verb, viz., future, present, and preterit, and in the absence of the verbals which are so characteristic of the languages of the Northern Group. The plural of the noun is indicated by a special form of the article as often in Ilokan, e. g., *ing taroo* 'the man,' *ding taroo* 'the men,' except in the vocative, where it is denoted by prepositive *manja*, e. g., *manja taroo*, as in the Central Group. A special characteristic of Pampangan is the large number of forms which the personal pronouns have in the genitive, e. g., under various conditions 'mine' is *ko*, *koo*, *ke*, *kee*, or *da*; 'his,' *no*, *noo*, *ne*, *nee*, or *na*.

¹ Cf. my paper *The Express. of Case by the Verb*, cited above.

² In Ilokan the passive endings *en* and *an* + the genitive *yo* 'you (pl.)' give *eiyo*, *aiyo*. The phonetics of the process are not entirely clear. The spelling may represent an assimilation of *n* to *y*, or perhaps a nasalization of the vowels *e* and *a*.

Magindanao seems to be more closely related to the Central Group than to the Northern, forming the plural of its nouns with *manġa*, and making three tense and mode forms, viz., present, preterite, and imperative, e. g., *sumulat* 'writes,' *sinumulat* 'wrote,' *sulat* or *panulat* 'write (imperative).' It is, however, apparently without *h*, and possesses the ligature *a* like the languages of the Northern Group. The most characteristic peculiarity of this language are the forms of the personal pronouns with prefixed or infixed *l* element (cf. below, p. 372), e. g., *laki*, *salaki* 'my,' *salkitannu*, *lekittannu* 'we.'

Sulu, like Malay, possesses in the declension of its noun no special plural form or plural particle, and forms its tense by means of auxiliaries, e. g., *tög na aku* 'I sleep,' *bakas aku matög* 'I have slept.' The ligature, which is so characteristic of all the other Philippine languages, is here comparatively little used.

NOTES ON PHONOLOGY.¹

Original Philippine Sounds.

From a comparison of representative words in the various languages it is evident that the primitive Philippine language possessed the following sounds, viz.,

vowels <i>a, i, u</i> or <i>o</i>	Palatals	} <i>k, g, y</i> <i>ng</i> ²
Labials <i>p, b, m, w</i>	and	
Dentals <i>t, d, n, l, s</i>	Gutturals	

Of. the following comparative list of words in the principal Philippine languages.

	'road'	'moon'	'drink'	'cook'	'five'	'eight'
Tag.	daan	buwan	inum	luto	lima	walo
Bis.	dalan	bulan	inum	luto	lima	walo
Bik.	dalan	bulan	inum	luto	lima	walo
Pamp.	dalan	bulan	inum	luto	lima	walo
Pang.	dalan	bulan	inum	luto	lima	walo
Ilok.	dalan	bulan	inum	luto	lima	walo
Iban.	dalan	tulan	inum	luto	lima	walu
Mag.	lalan		inum	luto	lima	walu
Sulu	dan	bulan	hinom	lutoh	lima	walu

¹ In general the vowels of Philippine words have the Italian pronunciation; the consonants are to be pronounced as in English unless otherwise stated.

² Written *nġ* when it stands at the beginning of a syllable.

	per. art.	'sickness'	'eat'	'sail'	'heaven'
Tag.	si	sakit	kain	layag	langġit
Bis.	si	sakit	kaon	layag	langġit
Bik.	si		kan	lauag	langġit
Pamp.		sakit	kan	layag	
Pang.	si	sakit	kan	layag	
Ilok.	si	sakit	kan	layag	langġit
Iban.	si	takit	kan	layag	langġit
Mag.	si	sakit	kan	layag	langġit
Sulu		sakit		layag	

The diphthongs *ai* and *au* also probably formed part of the primitive phonetic system; *ai* is usually written *ay*, *ai*, and *au*, *ao* or *au*; cf.

	'house'	'day'	'lake'
Tag.	bahay	arao	
Bis.	balay	adlao	danao
Bik.		aldao	
Pamp.	balay		
Pang.	baley ¹	ageo ¹	
Ilok.	balay	aldao	danao
Iban.	balay	aggau	
Mag.	walay		lanau
Sulu	bai	adlau	{ lanau danau

To these sounds are probably to be added,

- a) an indistinct vowel *ǝ* (cf. below, p. 331 f.),
- b) *r* (cf. below, p. 333),
- c) the glottal catch (cf. below, p. 335).

and perhaps *h* (cf. below, p. 335 f.).

Remarks on the Vowels.

The letters *o* and *u* are constantly interchanged in the same language in writing, e. g., Tag. *otang*, *utang* 'debt,' and according to the statements of the grammars this graphic difference is represented by a corresponding difference in the pronunciation. Hence it is hardly possible to distinguish between primitive Philippine *u* and *o*.

¹ For the significance of this spelling with *e*, cf. below, p. 331.

There is also a similar interchange between the letters *i* and *e*, and the sounds represented by them, e. g., Tag. *babayi*, *babaye* 'woman,' but this interchange is so limited in scope, the *e* corresponding to *i* rarely occurring, that all such cases are most conveniently referred to primitive Philippine *i*.¹

The letters *e* and *o* are sometimes used to indicate the contraction of the diphthongs *ai* and *au*, but usually in these cases the origin of the *e* or *o* is perfectly clear, and there is no chance of confusion with the other *e* and *o*. In the Central Group this contraction seems to be sporadic and confined to the final syllable of certain very common words, e. g., Tag. and Bis. *may* 'have,' Bik. *dey* 'not to have,' where the writing *ey* indicates the pronunciation *ē*; Tag. *ikao'y* for *ikao ay*, where the elision of the *a* of the particle *ay* points to the pronunciation *ikō*. In Ibanag and Pampangan these diphthongs at the end of a word are regularly contracted before a possessive suffix beginning with a consonant, e. g., Iban. *bale-k* 'my house' Pamp. *balae-mo* 'thū house' from *balay* 'house'. In Ibanag the diphthong *ay* is pronounced *eī*, i. e., the first element is pronounced *e* and not *a*, e. g., *patay* 'dead,' *ammay* 'rice;' in Pangasinan the first element of both the diphthongs *ai* and *au* seems to be sometimes pronounced as *e*, as is indicated by the spelling, e. g., *baley* 'village, house,' *ageo* 'day.'

Generally speaking, cognate words have the same vowels in all the different languages, *a* corresponding to *a*, *i* to *i*, *o*, *u* to *o*, *u*. In a number of words, however, the vowels vary from one language to another, in general, Tagalog *i* being represented in Bisayan and Bikol by *o* or *u*; in Ilokan, Pangasinan, and Magindanao by *ē*; in Ibanag and Pampangan by *a*; e. g.,

	'rice'	'hear'	'room'	(passive suffix)	'six'
Tag.	bigas	dinġig	silid	-in	anim
Bis.	bugas	dunġug	sulud	-on	unum
Bik.		dangġog		-on	anum
Ilok.	bagas	denġeg	silid	-en	innem
Pang.		denġel		-en	anem
Mag.	begas			-en	anem
Iban.	baggat			-an	annam
Pamp.				-an	anam

¹ In this article, unless otherwise stated, *o* and *u*, and *i* and *e*, are respectively considered as equivalent.

It is quite possible that this varied vocalism is the representation of a fourth primitive Philippine vowel, an indistinct vowel like the Indo-European *shewa*,¹ which in a similar way is represented by several different vowels in the various Indo-European languages.²

In Sulu there is a vowel corresponding to the German *ü*, e. g., *tüd* 'very,' *bukün* 'it is not.' This, however, seems to be a secondary Sulu development, words containing it having in some cases by-forms with *a* or *o*, *u*, or corresponding to forms with these vowels in the cognate languages, e. g., *maistüg*, *maisog* 'bold, intrepid' (Bis. *maisog*); *daküp*, *dakap* 'embrace' (Malay *dakap*).

Remarks on the Consonants.

Labials.

A final *p* in Ibanag regularly becomes the glottal catch (cf. below, p. 336).

In some of the languages of the Northern Group *p* and *b* pass at times into the spirants *f* and *v*. In Ibanag this change regularly takes place when original *p* is followed by *u* or *o*, e. g., *fulu* 'ten' (Pang. and Bis. *polo*, Magin. *pulu*, etc.). In Nabaloi Igorot *p* and *f* are often used interchangeably in the same word, e. g., *apil* or *afil* 'different;' in others the *p* or *f* respectively are constant, e. g., *palit* 'dear,' *andufit* 'soft.'

In Bontoc Igorot, and also in the northern part of the Nabaloi territory, there is a similar interchange between *b* and *f*, e. g., Bont. *babayi* and *fafayi* 'woman,' Nab. *balei* and *fulei* 'house.'

In Ibanag, just as *pu* becomes *fu*, *bu* becomes *vu*, the *b*, however, being still retained in spelling, e. g., *buaya* 'cayman.'

The sound *v* occurs in the one word *asivi* 'small' in Sulu.

In Magindanao a *b* sometimes becomes *w* (written *u*), e. g., *uato* 'stone,' *uata* 'boy,' *ualay* 'house' (Tag. *bato*, *bata*, Bis. *balay*); but it is sometimes preserved, e. g., *babay* 'woman,' *ngibu* 'thousand' (Tag. *babayi*, *libo*).

In Nabaloi Igorot original *wa* regularly becomes *gwa* (written *gua* or *goa*), e. g., *gualo* 'eight,' *asagoa* 'spouse' (Tag. *walo*, *asawa*).

¹ Cf. Brandstetter, *Tag. u. Mad.*, p. 34.

² Cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss der Vergl. Gram. der indogerm. Sprachen*, 2^{te} Bearb., Strassburg, 1897, Bd. 1, p. 170.

Dentals.

In Ibanag the combination *ti* regularly becomes *si*, e. g., *sinakao* 'robbed' from a root *takao* with infix *in*. An original final *t* regularly becomes the glottal catch (cf. below, p. 336).

A *d* of the other languages is regularly represented by the affricative *ch* in Nabaloi Igorot, e. g., *chalan* 'road,' *achalem* 'deep' (Ilok. *dalan*, *adalem*), and in Bontoc Igorot the two sounds are used interchangeably, as in the place names *Chakong* or *Dakong*, *Pudpudchog* or *Pudpuddog*.

In Ibanag the combination *di* when not preceded by *a* (in which case *d* > *r*, cf. below, becomes *zi* (written *ji*), e. g., *jinakay* 'leprous' from the root *dakay*.

In Ibanag an *s* not followed by *i* seems to be regularly changed to *t*, e. g., *atawa* 'spouse' (Tag. *asawa*), *takit* 'sickness' (Tag. *sakit*) *ta* 'to, in the, etc.' (Tag. *sa*); but *si* the personal article (Tag. *si*).

One of the most complex chapters of Philippine phonology is that which is concerned with the interrelations of the sounds *d*, *r*, *l*.

In a number of words an Ibanag, Ilokan, Bikol, and Samaro-Leytean *r* corresponds to a Tagalog, Bisayan (except Sam.-Ley.), Pampangan Pangasinan, Magindanao and Sulu *l*, e. g.,

	'write'	'silver'	'thousand'	'how much?'
Iban.	surat	pirak	ribu	
Ilok.	surat	pirak	ribo	
Bik.	surat	pirak	ribo	pira
Sam.-Ley.	surat		ribo ('million')	pira
Tag.	sulat	pilak	libo	
Bis.	sulat	pilak	libo	pila
Pamp.	sulat		libo	pilan
Pang.	sulat		libo	
Mag.	sulat			pila
Sulu	sulat	pelak		pela

As an original *l* is in general preserved without change in most of the languages, *r* is here probably to be regarded as the more original sound.

An original intervocalic *l* is lost in Tagalog and Sulu; in Tagalog it is represented by the glottal catch between the two vowels, or a secondary *h* or semi-vowel is developed between

them, e. g., *daan* 'road,' *bahay* 'house,' *powo* 'ten' (Bis. *dalan*, *balay*, *polo*); in Sulu the two vowels are contracted, e. g., *dan* 'road,' *bai* 'house,' *poh* 'ten.'

In Batan such an *l* seems regularly to become *g*, e. g., *ogo* 'head,' *pogo* 'ten,' *bagay* 'house,' *bugan* 'month' (Bis. *olo*, *polo*, *balay*, *bulan*). The same change is perhaps illustrated in Ibanag, Pangasinan, and Nabaloi *piya* 'how much?' (Bis. *pila*). This change from *l* to *g* probably passed through the intermediate stages, guttural *r*, and the guttural sonant spirant like *g* in the North German pronunciation of *tage* 'days.' The writing *g*, indeed, may be simply an imperfect attempt to indicate the latter sound.

In Nabaloi Igorot an *l* or *r* of the other languages is often represented by *ɖ*, e. g., *idoko* 'Ilokan' (Ilok. *iloko*), *mabadin* 'possible' (Ilok. *mabalin*), *sudat* 'write' (Ilok. *surat*, Tag. *sulat*).

In Batan the change from *l* to *ɖ* is also found, e. g., *dima* 'five,' *tatdo* 'three' (Bis. *lima*, *tatlo*).

An intervocalic *ɖ* is in many of the languages often changed to *r*. So in Tagalog, Bisayan, Pampangan, Pangasinan, Ibanag, Nabaloi, Batan, and Sulu; apparently not in Bikol, Ilokan and Magindanao, cf.

Tag. *narito* 'is here' from *dito* 'here.'

Bis. *aruna*, *duna* 'have.'

Pamp. *kareni* 'to these' from *deni* 'these.'

Pang. *maronong* 'wise' from root *donong*.

Iban. *ikarua* 'second' from root *dua* 'two.'

Nab. *marikit* 'pretty,' cf. Tag. *dikit* 'beauty.'

Bat. *icharua* 'second,' cf. Iban. *dua* 'two.'

Sulu *ha ran* 'on the road' from *dan* 'road.'

Ilok. *ida* 'they' from *da*.

Palatals and Gutturals.

In Ibanag final *k* regularly becomes the glottal catch (cf. below, p. 336).

In Nabaloi Igorot *k* is often changed to the corresponding surd spirant like German *ch*, which may be represented by *x*, e. g., *ixamen* 'mat' (Ilok. *ikamen*), *asixen* 'old man' (Pang. *asiken*).

In Bontoc Igorot *k* and *g* are constantly interchanged, e. g., *kulid* or *gulid* 'itch,' *yeka* or *yega* 'earthquake.'

In Batan a *k* in juxtaposition to an *i* sound either before or after it regularly becomes *ch*, e. g., *icha-* prefix which forms ordinals, *machi-* verbal prefix indicating accompaniment (Tag. *ika*, *maki*).

A *g* of the other languages is sometimes represented in Ilokan by *r*, the change in all probability being the reverse of the process illustrated by the change from *l* to *g* (cf. above, p. 334), e. g., *huro* 'new,' *rubiy* 'night,' *darat* 'sand' (Tag. *hago*, *gab-i*, *dayat* 'sea').

In Nabaloi Igorot *y* becomes regularly *dy*, e. g., *dyo* 'your,' *adyab* 'call' (Ilok. *yo*, *ayab*).

Laryngeals.

Under this category the Philippine languages seem originally to have possessed the glottal catch or laryngeal stop, and perhaps the surd spirant *h*. The glottal catch is not recognized as a separate sound in any of the works on the Philippine languages, but its presence in many languages is indicated by the statements of the grammars, and it probably occurs in all. For example, the Tagalog grammars speak of final vowels with guttural accent, of vowels pronounced separately from the single consonant which precedes them, and state that two juxtaposed vowels stand in different syllables. These statements are to be understood as follows. The hiatus between the two vowels in such a word as *doon* 'there' is of course identical with the glottal catch: the fact that a vowel following a single consonant begins a new syllable, as for example in *gab-i* 'night,' indicates that between the two stands the glottal catch, which really begins the second syllable: the so-called guttural accent of a final vowel seems to be really a glottal catch after the vowel; when the final vowel has at the same time the stress accent, the vowel is marked with a circumflex, e. g., *walâ* 'is, has not;'; when it is unstressed, with a grave accent, e. g., *wikà* 'word, language.' The glottal catch in Ibanag resulting from a final stop is of course secondary (cf. below, p. 336).

The spirant *h* does not occur in Ibanag,¹ Ilokan, Pangasinan, Nabaloi, and Pampangan, but it may have been an original Philippine sound, as it is preserved in the other Philippine languages; cf.

¹ Not given in the list of consonants.

	'wind'	'dear'	'hair'	'before'	'king'
Ilok.	anġin		book		ari
Pang.				arap	ari
Nab.			buek		
Pamp.	anġin	mal			
Tag.	hanġin	mahal	buhok	harap	hari

In Sulu a word with vocalic initial sometimes takes a secondary *h* before it, e. g., *hġnom* 'drink' (general Philippine *inum*). In Tagalog, Bisayan, and Bikol an *h* is sometimes inserted between a final vowel and the suffixes *an* and *in* (cf. below, p. 337).

Other Phonetic Changes.

The final stops *k*, *p*, *t*, in Ibanag are, according to the statement in the principal Ibanag grammar, not pronounced, but the preceding vowel receives a peculiar aspiration.¹ This clearly points to the fact that these consonants have become the glottal catch, like the final *k* in Malay.² This pronunciation is indicated in the grammar by placing a dash between the final consonant and the preceding word, e. g., *a-k* 'I,' *taki-t* 'sickness.' In the present article, however, the dash will be omitted for the sake of convenience. Before this glottal catch the vowel *a* is pronounced as *o*, though *a* is usually written (but cf. *so-k* 'I').

A characteristic feature of Ibanag and Ilokan is the doubling of originally single consonants, e. g., Iban. *battu* 'stone,' *annam* 'six' (Tag. *bato*, *anim*), Ilok. *adda* 'be' (Malay *ada*).

In Ibanag the final consonants *b*, *d*, *g*, *n* are assimilated to an initial consonant in a following word, e. g., *kanak ku* 'my food' < *kanan ku*; and all final consonants are pronounced in the same syllable with an initial vowel of a following word, the change from final surd stop to glottal catch not being made in

¹ '... quedan absolutamente sin sonido, y mudas; mas debe darse en la vocal, que les precede, un golpe de aspiracion, que solo la voz de maestro puede espresar, y enseñar debidamente.' Cf. De Cuevas, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

² Cf. Seidel, *Prak. Gram. d. Mal. Sprache*, p. 5. It is interesting to note that this final glottal catch is written ق (e. g., *انق ana* 'son') which in Arabic in general is equal to *k*+glottal catch, and which in some modern Arabic dialects has become simply the glottal catch. Cf. Favre, *op. cit.*, p. 12; Marsden, *op. cit.*, p. 11 f.; Wahrmund, *Praktische Gram. der neu-arab. Sprache*, Giessen, 1861, p. 11.

this case, e. g., *mabugak* 'I want' < *mabug ak*, *ayata mapia* 'great joy' < *ayat a mapia*.

In Tagalog after a final vowel the *a* of the particle *ay* and the conjunction *at* may be elided, e. g., *ang tauo'y mabuti* (< *tauo ay*) 'the man is good,' *ama't ina* (< *ama at*) 'father and mother.' This elision may also take place after a final *n*, the *n* being lost at the same time, e. g., *iya'y mabuti* (< *iyann ay*) 'this is good,' *anai't ali* (*amain at*) 'uncle and aunt.'

Many contractions and elisions take place in Pampangan, but the statements of the grammar on this subject are very meagre and unsatisfactory; cf., however, *kana kita* for *kana ku ita*, *iyeni* for *iya ini*, *meng* for *me ing*, *yang* for *ya ing*, *totita* for *toto ita*.

In Tagalog the suffixes *an* and *in* are added directly to a word ending in a final vowel with glottal catch, e. g., *turo-an* 'be taught;' after other final vowels an *h* is inserted, e. g., *sabi-h-in* 'be said,' *una-h-an* 'front part.' The same rule as regards the insertion of the *h* probably applies also to Bisayan and Bikol.

PRONOUNS DERIVED FROM PARTICLES.

The Philippine pronouns with regard to their origin may be divided into two classes, viz.,

- a) pronouns derived from monosyllabic particles,
- b) pronouns derived from dissyllabic roots.

To the second class belong the indefinite pronouns, except those derived from the interrogatives, e. g., Tag. *kaunti* 'a little' from the root *unti*, *marami* 'much' from the root *dami*; and the numerals, e. g., Tag. *apat* 'four,' *lima* 'five.'

To the first class belong

- a) the ligatures,
- b) the articles,
- c) the demonstrative pronouns,
- d) the interrogative pronouns,
- e) the personal pronouns.

The present investigation will be confined to the pronouns of the first class, which will be treated in the order named.

Pronouns derived from particles consist either of a simple root particle, or of a root particle combined with other prefixed

and suffixed particles. The prefixes are usually articular in character, and are employed to express case; the suffixes are ordinarily derived from ligatures which stood originally between the pronoun and the following word. Those pronouns that are inflected distinguish in general three cases (cf. above, p. 324), though sometimes two cases have identical forms.¹

The Ligatures.

The ligatures that occur in the various languages are the following, viz.:

Tag.	na	-ng	(-n)	ay	-y
Bis. (in gen.)	n̄ga	-ng			-y
Bis. (Sam.-Ley.)	n̄ga	(-ng)	-n		
Bik.	na	-ng			
Pamp.		-ng	-n	a	
Pang.			-n	a	ya -y
Ilok.	n̄ga		-n	a	
Iban.	n̄ga			a	
Bat.				a	
Ig. (Nab.)				a	
Ig. (Bon.)			-n	ay	
Mag.				a	i
Sulu					i, -y ²
Bag.					i ³

¹ In the paradigms of the pronouns all those forms that are not given as nominative or genitive in the grammars are grouped under the oblique. As the oblique is often used as the equivalent of the genitive, e. g., Tag. *ama nang batà=sa bata-ng ama* 'father of the boy,' forms that are really oblique are often given by the grammars under the genitive, but this will occasion little difficulty from a morphological point of view. Sometimes the oblique forms are not given by the grammars, in which case they are probably to be formed by prefixing the oblique of the definite article to the nominative.

² Not specifically mentioned as ligature by the grammars, though examples of both occur.

³ Ka is also said to be a relative in the sentence *dini doon kagi ka diri non̄ga olitan* 'here are words that it is not proper to reveal;' but it is here in all probability simply the genitive of the definite article used before the following clause, which modifies *kagi* 'words' just like a noun in the genitive.

The forms with dash are used only after vowels, e. g., Bis. *tawo-ng maayo* 'good man,' the others, in general, after both vowels and consonants, e. g., Bis. *tawo nġa maayo* 'good man,' *maulam nġa magtotoon* 'learned teacher.' Tagalog *ay*, *-y* are used only to join together two elements that stand to each other in the relation of subject and predicate, and then only when the subject precedes, e. g., *ang tawo'y mabuti* 'the man is good.' Bisayan *-y* is also sometimes employed in this case, but is also used as the equivalent of the other ligatures.¹

The difference between *-ng* and *-n* in those languages which possess both is difficult to determine. Often they seem to be used interchangeably; in Pampangan *-n* is used especially before an indefinite noun, like the signs of the indefinite object in Bis., and Iban. (cf. below, p. 345); e. g., *kuma ka-n danum* 'take some water.' The choice of *a* and *nġa* in those languages which possess both seems to be regulated by euphonic considerations: in Ilokan *a* must be used when the preceding word ends and the following begins with a consonant, e. g., *toy a balay* 'this house;' *nġa* must be used when the preceding word ends and the following begins with a vowel *a*, e. g., *dayta nġa aso* 'that dog,' otherwise the two are used indiscriminately. Ilokan *-n* is used before the adverbs *sa* and *to*, e. g., *adda-n-sa* 'is there perhaps,' *adda-n-to* 'will there be,' and has also various other uses.² In Pangasinan *ya* is used principally to join clauses, e. g., *alam so libro ya wala-d³ silid* 'bring the book which is in the room;' *-y* is used as the equivalent of *-n*, and also as a substitute for the nominative and genitive of the articles, e. g., *talo-ra-y silla* = *talora-n silla* 'three chairs,' *onla dia-y Antonio* = *onla dia si Antonio* 'come here Antonio.' Otherwise the four forms are practically equivalent except that *-n* and *-y* are only

¹ Cf. my paper, *Differences between Tagalog and Bisayan*, JAOS. xxv, 1904, p. 167 f.

² Cf. Williams, *Grammatische Skizze der Ilokano-Sprache* (dissertation), München, 1904, p. 64 f.

³ Contracted from *wala ed*. In Pangasinan *wala* means 'to be,' in Tagalog and Bisayan it means 'not to be,' one being affirmative, the other negative. A similar difference in meaning is presented in Semitic by Hebrew אָבָה 'be willing,' Arabic أَبَى 'abā, Ethiopic አበላ 'abaḷa 'be unwilling, refuse.'

used after vowels. In the meager specimens of Bontoc Igorot which are accessible *-n* is used after a vowel, *ay* after either vowel or consonant, e. g., *chuwa-n lasot* 'two hundred,' *chuwa ay lifo* 'two thousand,' *siam ay poo* 'ninety' (nine tens). In Magindanao *a* is the usual ligature, *i* being used mainly after interrogative words instead of the article *sa*, e. g., *tingin i midtahu salka* 'who spoke to you?' In Sulu the ligature *i* occurs sporadically, e. g., *pela i bulan* 'how many months?' In Bagobo the ligature is used as relative.

All these ligatures seem to be derived from the four particles *na*, *n̄ja*, *a*, and *i*. The forms *-n* and *-ny* are shortened respectively from *na* and *n̄ja*; *i* after a vowel forms the second element of a diphthong and is then often written *-y*; *ay* and *ya* are probably combinations of the two particles *a* and *i*; *na* and *n̄ja* are perhaps simply two forms of the same particle.

The Articles.

The Philippine languages possess not only a definite and indefinite article, which are in the main equivalent to the corresponding English articles, but also a personal and an inclusive article (cf. above, p. 325).

Definite Article.

The forms of the definite article in the various languages are, viz.:

	<i>nom.</i>	<i>gen.</i>	<i>obl.</i>
Tag.	ang	nang	sa
Bis. (Ceb.)	ang	sa	sa
Bis. (Hil.)	ang (ing)	sang	sa
Bis. (Sam.-Ley.)	an (in)	san, nan, kanan	sa
Bis. (Har.)	ya, nan	sa, kan, et	
Bik.	an, si	nin, ninsi, sa, kan	
Pamp.	<i>sg.</i> ing	ning	king
	<i>pl.</i> ding	(ding) ¹	karing
Pang.	<i>sg.</i> so, say	na	ed

¹ Doubtless the correct form (cf. inc. art.), though not given by the grammar.

Pang.	pl.	{ saray, iray, day ray; so saray na saray	ed saray
Ilok.	sg.	iti, ti	iti
	pl.	dagiti	kadagiti
Igor. (Nab.)	e ¹	ne	sun, chi
Iban.	i	na	ta
Bat.	u, su	nu	du, (u, su) ²
Mag.	su	{ na, nu, ³ sa kana, kanu ³	sa, kana, kanu ³
Sulu	in	sin, kan	ha, pa
Bag.	yan, i	ka, ta	ka, ta

Nominative.

Forms that are apparently root particles are *ya*, *si*, *i*, *u*, *ti*. *Ya* is probably identical with the ligature *ya*; *si* is the personal article used as definite (cf. below, p. 346); *i* is probably identical with the ligature *i*; *ti* is probably identical with the demonstrative root particle *ti* (cf. below, p. 353).

Pangasinan, Batan, and Magindanao *su*, *so*, may be a root particle, or *u* with an inflectional *s* borrowed from *si*, the nominative of the personal article. Nabaloi *e* may be a variant form of *i*, or a contraction of **ay* identical with the ligature *ay*.

The forms *ang*, *an*, *ing*, *in*, *yan* seem to consist of the root particles *i* and *ya* just described, and *a* which is probably identical with the ligature *a*, followed by the ligature *-ng*, *-n*,⁴ which is regularly used in these languages between two words that stand to one another in the relation of modified and modifier, when the first of the group ends in a vowel. Originally the root particle was the article, and *-ng*, *-n* simply a connective, the *-ng* in Taga-

¹ Also given as objective along with *sun* and *chi*.

² The oblique case forms are given as *du*, *lu*, *su*, but this is almost certainly a mistake for *du*, l. *u*, *su*, l. being an abbreviation for 'or,' as in the nominative *su* l. *u*. No particle which could be connected with this apparent *lu* occurs in any of the languages, except, perhaps, in Magindanao (cf. below, p. 372) and there it seems to be a foreign element. As these forms are headed 'dat., ac., abl.' the forms *u*, *su* are probably nominatives used as accusatives (cf. below, p. 380, ft. nt. 1).

³ As these forms are given by Juanmarte in the paradigm only in connection with the following plural particle *manġa*, the *u* may be a modification of *a* due to the labial *m*.

⁴ Cf. Brandstetter, *Tag. u. Mad.*, p. 78.

log *a-ng tarwo* 'the man' being no more a part of the article than the *-ng* in *ito-ng tarwo* 'this man.' The ligature, however, has become an integral part of the article, as is shown by the pronominal use of the article before an oblique case, e. g., Tag. *ang sa tarwo* 'that of the man,' where the ligature would ordinarily not be employed.

Pangasinan *say* seems to be a combination of a root particle *sa* and the ligature *i*. Whether this *sa* is ultimately identical with the *sa* of the oblique case (cf. below) is uncertain.

Harayan *nan* is probably borrowed from the genitive, being doubtless identical with the Samaro-Leytean genitive *nan* (cf. below).

Ilokan *iti* seems to be a combination of the simpler form *ti* with an articular prefix *i* doubtless identical with Ibanag nominative *i*, and ultimately with the ligature *i*. This *i* is to be distinguished from the prepositional *i* which occurs in the identical oblique case *iti* (cf. below).

The plural forms in Pangasinan and Ilokan contain a plural element *da*, *ra*, which is identical with the root particles *la*, *ra*, *la* of the third person plural (cf. below, p. 381 f.). In Pangasinan *ra* is always followed by the ligature *i*, and it also may take the prefixes *i*, *sa*, and *so* *sa*, *i* being identical with the *i* of Ilokan nominative *iti*, *sa* and *so* with the *sa* and *so* of the Pangasinan singular. In Ilokan the plural is made by prefixing *dag*, consisting of *da*+an additional pluralizing element *g*,¹ to the singular *iti*. In Pampangan *ding*, which like the singular forms *ang*, *ing*, contains the ligature *-ng*, *di* may be a modification of *da* due to the influence of the *i* of the singular, or it may be an independent root particle (cf. below, p. 348).

Genitive.

The genitive forms that are apparently root particles are *sa*, *et*, *na*, *ti*, *ka*. *Ti* is the same as the *ti* in the nominative; *sa*, *et* and *ka* belong rather to the oblique (cf. below); *na* is probably identical with the ligature *na*.

Batan *nu* and perhaps Magindanao *nu* (cf., however, p. 341, ft. nt.) may be a root particle, or it may be *u* with an inflec-

¹ Cf. my article, *The Bisayan Dialects*, cited above, p. 127.

tional *n* borrowed from *na*. Nabaloi *ne* is either a variant form of *nî*, or *na* + the ligature *i*. Bagobo *ta* has apparently no representative in any of the other languages, Ibanag *ta* (obl.) representing an original *sa*.

The forms *nang*, *nan*, *sang*, *san*, consist of the root particles *na* and *sa* followed by the ligature *-ng*, *-n*. The forms *nîng*, *nîn* consist of a similar combination of the ligature with a particle *nî*, which may itself be a root particle, or the root particle *i* with an inflectional *n* borrowed from *na*.

In Bikol *nînsî* the genitive is prefixed to the nominative. Sulu *sîn* is probably the nominative *in* with an inflectional *s* borrowed from the genitive and oblique *sa* (cf. below, p. 354). The forms *kan*, *kanan*, *kana*, *kanu*, seem to be borrowed from the oblique (cf. below).

The plural forms in Pampangan and Ilokan are identical with the nominative. In Pangasinan the form *day* (=plural particle *da* + ligature *i*) is probably more original than *ray* of the nominative, where the *r* is doubtless due to the analogy of the other nominative forms (cf. below, p. 382): in the form *na saray*; *na*, the genitive singular, is prefixed as genitive case sign to the nominative.

Oblique.

The forms that are apparently root particles are *sa* (including Iban. *ta*, cf. above, p. 333), *et*, *ed*, **di* (Nab. *chi*, cf. above, p. 333), *ha*, *pa*, *ka*. *Et* and *ed* are probably identical, and are perhaps to be connected with *di*; *di* is doubtless identical with the Malay preposition *di* 'in'; Sulu *ha* is perhaps to be connected with the Sulu active verbal suffixes *a*, *ha* just as the *i* of Ilokan *i-ti* is probably identical with the active verbal suffix *i* of Malay (cf. below); Sulu *pa*, which indicates motion towards, is perhaps identical with the verbal prefix *pa*, which is used to form verbs of motion, e. g., Tag. *pa-rito* 'come here' from *dito* 'here,' *pa-sa-Maynila* 'go to Manila' from *sa-Maynila* 'in Manila'; *ka* is doubtless identical with the Malay preposition *ka* 'to, towards.' For Bagobo *ta* cf. under genitive.

The form *kan* consists of the root particle *ka*+ligature *n*; Pampangan *king* consists of the ligature *ng* and a root particle *ki* which is probably modified from *ka* under the influence

of the *i* vocalism of the other forms; Batan *du* is probably *u* with an inflectional *ɔ* borrowed from the particle *di*; Nabaloi *sun* consists perhaps of the root particle *u* with an inflectional *s* as in Sulu genitive *sin*, and ligature *n*; Ilokan *iti* consists of the root particle *ti*, and a prepositional *i*¹ identical with the *i* of the Tagalog adverbs and prepositions *sa i-babao* 'over,' *sa i-taas* 'above,' *sa i-baba* 'below,' *sa i-lalim* 'underneath,' which consist of a root preceded by two prepositional elements *i* and *sa*. This *i* may be identical with the prefix *i* of the passive, just as in Malay *di* is both preposition and passive prefix.² The same preposition *i* seems also to occur as active suffix in Malay, where it is equivalent to the active suffix *kan*, connected with the preposition *ka*.³

In Samaro-Leytean *kanan*, Magindanao *kana*, *kannu*, *ka* is prefixed as oblique case sign to the genitive; in the plural of Pampangan and Ilokan to the nominative-genitive. In the Pagnasinan plural, *ed* is prefixed as oblique case sign to the nominative.

For the Batan forms *u* and *su*, which are identical with the nominative, cf. above, p. 341, ft. nt. 2.

Indefinite Article.

The idea of the indefinite article, whenever it is not indicated sufficiently by the nature of the construction, is expressed by the numeral one, which unlike the numerals from 'two' upward seems to be derived from pronominal particles. This numeral, however, is not inflected, but expresses its case by means of an inflected word placed before it. Its forms in the various languages are, viz.:

Tag.	isa	Ilok.	meysa
Bis. (Ceb.)	usa	Igor. (Nab.)	saxei
Bis. (Hil.)	isa, usa	Igor. (Bon.)	isa
Bis. (Sam.-Ley.)	usa	Iban.	itte, tadday
Bik.	saro	Mag.	isa
Pamp.	isa, metong	Sulu	isa
Pang.	isa, sakey	Bag.	sabbad

¹ Cf. Brandstetter, *Tag. u. Mad.*, p. 78.

² Cf. Favre, *Grammaire de la langue malaise*, Vienne, 1876, pp. 132, 158. Seidel, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 66.

³ Cf. Marsden, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

All of these forms except Pampangan *metong*, which is not clear, are derived from a root particle *sa*, which is used for 'one' in Javanese and Malay. The initial *i* of *isa* is probably the same articular *i* which has already been seen in Ilokan nominative *iti*, and which has an extensive use in the demonstrative and personal pronouns (cf. below).

Ibanag *itte* probably consists of **itta* + the ligature *i*, just as *dua* 'two' is probably equivalent to *dua* + *i*; **itta* is doubtless derived from **ita* (= *isa*, cf. above, p. 333), with the doubling which is so characteristic of Ibanag (cf. above, p. 336). In Ilokan instead of the simple *i*, *mei*, contracted from *mai*, a combination of *i* and the adjectival prefix *ma*, is used, just as it is employed instead of the simple *i* of many of the other languages, in the formation of the ordinals, e. g., Ilok. *maikapat* 'fourth' (Tag. *ikapat*).

The *u* of Bisayan *usa* is probably identical with Batan *u* (cf. also below, pp. 354, 361).

Ibanag *tadday* (< **sadday*, cf. above, p. 333) is perhaps to be analyzed as root particle *sa* + *da*, root particle of third person plural, + ligature *i*, the doubling being phonetic. The second elements of Bikol *sa-ro*, Pangasinan *sa-key*, Nabaloi *sa-xei*, Bagobo *sa-bbad* are, perhaps, similar in nature to the numeral coefficients of Malay.¹

Under the head of indefinite articles are best considered those particles which indicate the indefinite object of an action. In Cebuan these are *ug*, more rarely *ak*; in Hiliguayna and Samaroleytean *sing* and *sin* respectively: e. g., Cebuan *kumuha ka ug tubig* 'take some water.' The two last are probably identical in formation with *sin*, the genitive of the definite article in Sulu. In Ibanag a particle *tu*, perhaps identical with Batan and Magindanao *su*, Pangasinan *so*, is employed, e. g., *apam mu tu kanak ku* 'bring me something to eat.'

Personal Article.

The forms of the personal article in the various languages are, viz.:

¹ Cf. Favre, *op. cit.*, p. 71 f.; Maxwell, *Manual of the Malay Lang.*, London, 1902. p. 70 f.

	<i>nom. gen.</i>		<i>obl.</i>
Tag.	si	ni	kay
Bis.	si	{ ni { kanan (Sam.-Ley.)	{ kay (Hil., Har.) { kan (Ceb., Sam.-Ley., Hil.)
Bik.	si	ni	ki
Pamp.	i	nan	kan
Pang.	si	nen	ed
Ilok.	si, ni	ni	ken
Igor. (Nab.)	si ¹	nan, ne	sun, sikan
Iban.	si	ni	ta, takkua, tak- kuani
Bat.	si	ni	di
Mag.	si	ni, kani	kani
Sulu	hi		
Bag.	si	ni	kan

The usual nominative is the root particle *si*. In Pampangan *i*, identical with the root particle *i* of the definite article, is employed, and with this, Sulu *hi* is perhaps identical, as a secondary *h* is sometimes developed before an initial vowel (cf. above, p. 336). Ilokan *ni* is derived from the genitive (cf. below, p. 387).

The usual genitive is the particle *ni* (cf. above, p. 343). The forms *nan*, *kanan*, *ne* are to be explained like *nan*, *kunan*, *ne* of the definite article. Pangasinan *nen* seems to be the articu- lar root particle *na* + the ligatures *i* and *n*, **nain* being contracted to *nen* (cf. above, p. 331). Magindanao *kani* belongs rather to the oblique.

In the oblique case most of the forms are based on the articu- lar root particle *ka*: *kan* consists of *ka* + the ligature *n*; *kay*, of *ka* + the ligature *y*; Ilokan *ken* is probably to be analyzed, like Pangasinan *nen*, as *ka* + *i* + *n*; Magindanao *kani* consists of *ka* + the genitive *ni*: Nabaloi *sikan* is *kan* with what is apparently the nominative *si* prefixed. Bikol *ki* seems to be a modification of *ka* due to the influence of the *i* in the other case forms *si* and *ni*. Pangasinan does not distinguish between the

¹ Also given as objective along with *sun* and *sikan*.

definite and personal articles in the oblique case, *ed* serving for both, and in Ibanag the oblique case *ta* of the definite article is used either alone or in the compound forms *takkua*, *takkuani* as the oblique of the personal article. The *kua* in the compounds just mentioned is a noun meaning 'thing, possession,' which is used in Ilokan and Ibanag in conjunction with the post-positive genitives of the personal pronouns to form possessive pronouns, e. g., *kua-k* 'mine,' *kua-m* 'thine,' etc.¹; *ni* is the genitive of the personal article. Batan *di* is doubtless identical with Nahaloi *chi*, Malay *di* (cf. above, p. 343).

Inclusive Article.

The forms of the inclusive article, in so far as they are given by the various grammars, are as follows, viz.:

	<i>nom.</i>	<i>gen.</i>	<i>obl.</i>
Tag.	sina	nina	kana
Bis. (Ceb.)	sa	na	ka
Bis. (Hil.)	sanday	nanday	kanday
	sila nay	ila nay	sa ila nay
	sila ni	ila ni	sa ila ni
	sila si	nila ni	kanila ni
	sila sa ²		
Bis. (Sam.-Ley.)	sira	nira	kanda
Bik.	{ sa, sainda sa,	na, ninda na	na, sainda na
	{ sinda sa		
Pamp.	di	di	kari
Pang.	{ sara di	{ da di	ed sara di
	{ sikara di	{ na sara di	
Ilok.	da ³	da ³	
Iban.	da	da	takkuara

The Tagalog forms are compounded of a particle *na*, perhaps identical with the ligature *na*, and the case forms of the personal article, *ka* being used instead of *ka-y*.

¹ Cf. Naves, *op. cit.*, p. 85; De Cuevas, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

² Cf. Mentrida and Aparicio, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

³ Cf. Naves, *op. cit.*, pp. 80, 121.

Cebuan and Bikol *sa*, which occurs also in Hiliguayna *sila sa*, seems to be a modification of *si*, *a* perhaps being borrowed from the plural particle *da*, where it was felt as a plural ending. The other case forms *na* and *ka* were then made on the basis of *sa*, the nominative case sign *s* being changed respectively to *n* and *k*.

In many instances the inclusive article is based on the pronoun of the third person plural (cf. below, p. 379 ff.). In Hiliguayna, *sanday* is the pronoun *sanila* 'they' + the ligature *i*; *nanday* and *kanday* are made on this basis by simply changing the case sign: *sila nay* and its declined forms is a combination of the pronoun *sila* 'they' with a particle *nay*, probably *na*, identical with *na* in Tagalog *si-na*, + the ligature *i*: for *sila sa* cf. below. The other Hiliguayna forms consist of *sila* followed by the nominative or genitive of the personal article.

Samaro-Leytean *sira*, *nira* are identical with the corresponding forms of the pronoun of the third person plural; the oblique *kanda* is to be connected with the stem of Hiliguayna *sanday*. The Bikol forms like *sinda sa*, *ninda na*, etc., and Hiliguayna *sila sa*, consist of the forms of the pronoun of the third person plural followed by the nominative or genitive of the inclusive article *sa*; *sainda sa*, if it is not a typographical error, owes its initial syllable *sa* to the influence of the inclusive article *sa*. Ilokan and Ibanag *da* is identical with the root particle *da* of the pronoun of the third person plural. The sign of the oblique case in Ibanag, viz., *takkua-* is to be explained as in the case of the personal article. Pampangan *di* may be a modification of *da* due to the influence of the prevailing *i* vocalism of the articular forms, but the occurrence of *di* as the final element of the inclusive article in Pangasinan, where there is no such influence, seems to indicate that *di* is an independent particle: *kari* is *di* with prefixed case sign *ka*. In Pangasinan the inclusive article is made by prefixing to *di*, forms derived from the pronoun of the third person plural or from the plural of the definite article: *sikara* is identical with one of the pronouns of the third person plural; the other elements prefixed to *di* are the corresponding case forms of the plural of the definite article without the ligature *-y*.

Demonstrative Pronouns.

With regard to their meaning, the demonstrative pronouns may be divided into two general classes, A) the nearer demonstratives, which may be translated by 'this;' B) the more remote demonstratives, which may be translated by 'that.' Within these two general groups, especially in the second, there are in most of the languages further subdivisions of meaning. For example, in Tagalog, *yari* indicates something that is nearer the speaker than the person addressed, *ito*, something that is near both, *iyaw*, something that is nearer the person addressed than the speaker, and *yaon*, something that is distant from both.

These more minute distinctions, however, are of practically no importance from a morphological point of view, and even in the case of the two main semantic groups, we often find what is nearer demonstrative in one, used as remoter demonstrative in another, e. g., Tagalog *ito* 'this,' Samaro-Leytean *ito* 'that.'

In general the demonstratives are made up of three elements, viz., (a) demonstrative root particles; (b) prefixed particles, usually of articular origin, which denote case and sometimes number, and which will be known as case indicating particles; (c) connective particles or ligatures, which are of two kinds, those that connect case indicating prefix with the root particle, and those that are suffixal in character, representing what was originally ligature between the demonstrative and following noun. Sometimes a demonstrative seems to contain two root demonstrative particles, viz., in Magindanao *en-tu* and in the Ibanag forms ending in *-ye*. In Bagobo an adverbial particle *go* appears as final element in some of the demonstratives.

The forms of the demonstrative pronouns in the various languages are, viz.:

Tag.	Class A.		Class B.	
	N. yari, yiri, yeri	ito	iyān	yaon, yoon
	G. niri	nito	niyan	nion, noon, niyaon, niyoon
	O. dini	dito	diyan	doon
Bis. (Ceb.) ¹	N. kini, saini, sini ²	kari, diri, dari, ² ari kana	niān	kadto(t), adto
	G. O. nini	niari	niana	niadto(t)
	O. kanini			kitot, itot ²
				niitot
Bis. (Hil.)	N. ini		yana, ina	yadto
	G. O. sini, sa sini		sana, sina, sa sina	iton
Bis. (Sam.-Ley.)	N. ini			sadto, sa sadto
	G. O. sini, sa sini			adto, yadto
Bis. (Har.)	N. dia		dan	ito
	G. O. karia, kadia			sadto, sa sadto
Bik.	N. ini		karan, kadan	dagto
	G. O. kaini		iyān	karagto, kagto
Pamp.	sg. N. ini	iti	iyān	idto
	G. nini	niti	kaiyan	kaidto
	O. kanini, keni	kaniti, keti	iyān	ita
	pl. N. G. deni	deti	niyan	nita
	O. karenī	kareti	kean ³	kanita, keta
	sg. N. saya, aya, ia;		dean ³	deta
	so saya		karean ³	kareta
	G. tonia; na saya		satan, itan, atan,	saman, aman, iman,
Pang.	O. 'ed saya		tan; so satan	man; so saman
	pl. N. saraya, raya,		tontan; na satan	tonman, na saman
	iraya; so saraya		ed satan	ed saman
			saratan, iratan,	saraman, iraman,
			ratan; so saratan	raman; so sara-
				man

	G. dania; na saraya	dantan; na saratan	danman; na sara-
			man
	O. 'ed saraya		ed saraman
Ilok.	sg. N. G. daytoy, toy	ed saratan	dediay, diay ^a
	O. itoy, iti daytoy	dayta, ta	idiay, iti dediay
	pl. N. G. dagitoy	ita, iti dayta	dagidiay
	O. kadagitoy	dagita	kadagidiay
Igor. (Nab.)	saidiai, saidiai, iai	kadagita	saman, iman
Iban.	sg. N. yau, au	satan, sutan, suta, itan	
	G. nau <i>all</i>	{ yara	{ yad
	O. tau <i>declined</i>	{ yari	{ yud
	pl. N. { danau <i>in</i>	{ yajje	{ yojje
	G. annau <i>same</i>	{ yatun	{ yod
	G. danau <i>way</i>	{ ytunye	{ yujje
	O. { takkaranau		{ yora
	{ takkuaranau		{ yuri
			{ yura
Bat.	nooya	uri	
Mag.	inia	anan	au
Sulu	ini	ien	entu
Bag.	ini	toy	ietu
			toigo
			iaun
			yango, to

¹ The adverb 'to day' makes case forms like the demonstratives, viz., nom. *karon*, gen.-obl. *naron*.² Given in the Cebuan paradigms in Mentrída and Aparicio's Hiliguayna Grammar, p. 250 f.³ In these forms *ean* represents a contraction of **aiyan*, intervocalic *y* becoming the hiatus or glottal catch as perhaps in *sia* for *siya*; cf. below, p. 381.⁴ The form *diad* is given in the paradigms as the equivalent of *ed* in the ablative case, but this is simply the adverb *diá* 'here' + *ed*.⁵ Given by Williams, *op. cit.* p. 59.

The root particles of the demonstrative are *di*, *ni*, *to*, *ya*, *na*, *ti*, *ta*, *ma*, *en*, and possibly *a* (cf. below, under *ya* and *na*). The particles *ya*, *na*, *a* are probably identical, respectively, with the ligatures, *ya*, *na*, *a*.

Di, which when intervocalic appears in many languages as *ri*, is found in Tag. *ya-ri*, *yi-ri*, *ye-ri*, *ni-ri*, all the forms of Ceb. *ka-ri*, Iban. *ya-ri*, *yu-ri*, Bat. *u-ri*, Ilok. *day-di*, *de-di-ay*, and in Nab. *sai-di-ai*, *sa-di-ai*. The root particle is found uncombined only in Ilokan. Ilokan *dediay* is *daydi* + the double ligature *ay*, *day* being contracted to *de*. In Ibanag the forms *yad* and *yud* seem to be shortened from *yari* and *yuri* respectively; and these shortened forms were then augmented by the addition of *a*, probably the ligature *a*, viz., *yara*, *yura*, and *ye*, probably contracted from the *ya* which occurs as the pronoun of the third person + the ligature *-y*, viz., *yajje* (<**yad-ye*), *yujje* (<**yud-ye*).

*Ni*¹ occurs in Tagalog oblique *di-ni* and all the forms of Cebuan *k-i-ni*, Hiliguayna, Samaro-Leytean, Bikol, Pampanagan, Sulu, and Bagobo *i-ni*, and Magindanao *i-ni-a*.

To occurs in all the forms of Tagalog *i-to*, Cebuan *k-i-to-t*, Hiliguayna *i-to-n*, Samaro-Leytean *i-to*, Ilokan *day-to-y*, Ibanag *ya-tu-n*, *ya-tu-n-ye*, in Bagobo *to*, *to-y*, *to-i-go*, probably in Magindanao *en-tu*, Sulu *ie-tu*, and in all the forms derived from the stems, Cebuan, Hiliguayna, and Samaro-Leytean *ul-to*, Harayan *ag-to*, and Bikol *id-to*. The second *t* of the Cebuan forms *kitot*, etc.; *kadtot*, etc., is probably due to incomplete reduplication. The final *ye* of the Ibanag forms is to be explained as the *ye* in *yajje* (<**yad-ye*). Bagobo *-go* is an emphatic particle which is also used in sentences with non-verbal predicate, e. g., *si kona mapia-go manobo* 'you are a good man.' The *en-* of Magindanao *entu* seems to be the same as the *en* in Sulu *i-en*.

Ya occurs in all the forms of Tagalog, Bikol, and Pampanagan *i-ya-n*; of Pangasinan *sa-ya*; in the Ibanag final syllable *ye* for **ya-i* in *yoye*, *yajje*, *yujje*, *yajje*, *yatunye*; and perhaps in Harayan *dia* (all forms), Nabaloi *iai*, Batan *nooya*, and Bagobo *yango*. Harayan *dia* probably stands for **di-ya* (cf.

¹ *Ny*, the definite article in Madagascan, is probably identical with this root particle, cf. Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

sia=*siya*, p. 381, below). Nabaloi *iai* may be simply a shortened form of *sailiai*, *sailiai*, or it may be analyzed as *ia* + ligature *i*, or as a root particle *a* preceded by articular *i*, and followed by the ligature *i*. Bagobo *yango* contains the particle *go* and an element *yan* which is probably *ya* + the ligature *n*.

Au occurs in Tagalog *y-au-n*, *ni-y-au-n*, and in all the forms of Ibanag *y-au*, *yoye* (<**y-au-ye*), Batan *au*, and Sulu *i-au-n*. In the Tagalog forms *yoon*, *niyoon*, the first element of the *a* of *ao* seems to have been assimilated to *o*; *nion* is contracted from *niyoon*; *noon* and *doon* seemed to be formed on the basis of *yoon*, the case signs *n* and *d* being substituted for *y*. The Ibanag forms *yod*, *yqjje* (<**yod-ye*), *yora* present a blend of *yan* and the forms with *d*, having the vocalism of *yan*, and the *d* of the latter forms:

**Na* is found in all the forms of Cebuan *ka-na*, Hiliguayna *ya-na*, Magindanao *a-na-n*, and perhaps of Harayan *dan* if it is a shortened form of **da-na*. In the Harayan forms, however, the root particle may be *a*, identical with the root particle of Tagalog *ang*.

Ti, identical with the *ti* of the Ilokan definite article, occurs in all the forms of Pampangan *i-ti*.

Tu occurs in all the forms of Pampangan *i-ta*, Pangasinan *sa-ta-n*, Ilokan *day-ta*, and in Nabaloi *sa-ta-n*, *su-ta-n* and *i-ta-n*.

Ma occurs in all the forms of Pangasinan and Nabaloi *sa-ma-n*, etc.

En occurs in Sulu *i-en* and Magindanao *en-tu*, the *tu* of the latter form being the demonstrative root particle *to*.

The case indicating prefixes of the demonstratives are, in Tagalog *i*, *ni*, *n*, *di*, *d*; in Cebuan *k*, *sa*, *s*, *di*, *d*, *i*, *kan*, *ni*; in Hiliguayna and Samar-Leytean *i*, *s*, *sa*; in Harayan *d*, *di*(?), *ka*, *k*; in Pampangan *i*, *ni*, *ka*, *da*; in Pangasinan *sa*, *a*, *i*, *to*, *da*, *so*, *na*, *ed*; in Ilokan *i*, *da*, *dag*; in Nabaloi *sa*, *su*, *i*; in Ibanag *i*, *n*, *t*, *da*, *an* (?), *takka*, *takkua*; in Batan *u*; in Magindanao *a*, *i*, in Sulu and Bagobo *i*.

The prefix *i* (*y* before a vowel) which is found in most of the languages as the sign of the nominative case is apparently identical with the articular root particle *i*.¹ The *i* of the oblique

¹ This *i* is found also in the Malay demonstratives *i-ni* 'this,' *i-tu* 'that'; and in all the demonstratives in Madagascan, e. g., *i-ty* 'this,' cf. Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

singular in Ilokan, however, is probably a prepositional particle (cf. above, p. 344). Batan *u* is identical with the *u* of the definite article; *ni*, the most common sign of the genitive, is identical with the *ni* of the personal article: *sa*, *ka*, *kan*, *di* and *tak-kua* are identical with articular oblique forms *sa*, *ka*, *kan*, *di* and *tak-kua*; *da* is the root particle of the third person plural that has already been met with in the articles; in Ilokan the *da* seems to have lost its plural force, being used as a simple initial demonstrative element in both singular and plural, the plural being indicated by *da* with an additional plural sign *g*, viz., *dag*; Pangasinan *so*, *na*, *ed* are case forms of the definite article; Pangasinan and Nabaloi *sa* is identical with the *sa* of the article *sag*; Pangasinan and Magindanao *a* is probably the same *a* as in Tagalog *ang*; Pangasinan *to* is the genitive of the pronoun of the third person singular; Nabaloi *su* is to be connected with the articles, Pangasinan *so*, Magindanao *su*; Pampangan *ke* and *de* are contracted respectively from *ka-i* and *da-i*, with articular *i*; Ibanag *takka* is a double oblique sign, standing for **ta-ka* < **sa-ka* (cf. above, pp. 333, 336); for *an* of the Ibanag nominative plural, cf. below, p. 356 f.

When the case sign consists of a single consonant it is usually to be explained as derived from forms with a fuller case sign under the influence of proportional analogy. For example, the *s* of the genitive-oblique in Hiliguayna and Samaro-Leytean is probably derived from *sa*, a series like Samaro-Leytean *adto*, *sadto* (<*sa-adto*) giving rise to forms like *sini*, *sito* on the basis of *ini*, *ito*. Similarly Tagalog *n* and *d* in the forms *noon*, *doon* are probably derived from the fuller forms *ni* and *di*; Cebuan and Harayan *k*, *sa*, *s*, and *d* of the nominative are probably based on the articular oblique forms *ka*, *sa* and *di* (for the use of these oblique forms in the nominative, cf. below, p. 388); Harayan *k* in *kagto* is certainly derived from the oblique form *ka*; Ibanag *n* and *t* of the genitive and oblique respectively seem to be derived from the articular forms *na* and *ta*.

Sometimes the case signs are prefixed to a case form, sometimes directly to the demonstrative root particle, sometimes to a demonstrative stem consisting of a root particle combined with a prefix, usually articular in character. These prefixes are *a*, *i* and *u* identical with articular *a*, *i* and *u* (cf. below, p. 361), and *ad*, *id*, *ag* of uncertain origin. It is not impossible that

ad, *id* and *ag* contain the articular particles *a* and *i* followed by a connective *g*, which is preserved in Harayan, and which is perhaps related to *ug*, the sign of the indefinite object in Cebuan; Cebuan and Bikol *d* representing a partial assimilation of this *g* to the following dental *t*. Bikol *id* is probably modified from *ad* under the influence of the initial *i* of the other demonstratives *ini*, *iyan*.

In Tagalog the case signs are usually prefixed directly to the demonstrative root particle, e. g., *i-to*, *ni-to*, *di-to*. In the nominative *y-a-ri*, *y-i-ri*, the case sign *i* is prefixed to the stems *a-ri*, *i-ri*; *yeri* seems to be a modification of *yiri* due to the *r*,¹ in the genitives *ni-yaon*, *ni-yoon* the case sign is prefixed to the nominative; for other forms of *yaon*, cf. above.

In Cebuan the case signs are all prefixed to demonstrative stems, viz., *a-ri*, *i-ni*, *i-tot*, *ad-to*, *a-na*, except in the nominatives *itot*, *diri*, where the case signs *i*, *di* are prefixed to the root particle. The forms *ari*, *adto* are without case signs.

In Hiliguayna the nominative case sign is prefixed to the root particle in *i-ni*, *i-na* and *i-ton*, but to a demonstrative stem in *y-ana*, *y-adto*; the genitive-oblique sign *s* is prefixed to the first three nominatives; in the others, it replaces the nominative case sign; another series of genitive oblique forms are made by prefixing *sa* to these forms with *s*.

In Samaro-Leytean the nominative case sign is prefixed to the root particle in *i-ni*, *i-to*, but to a demonstrative stem in *y-adto*; the form *adto*, as in Cebuan, is without case sign; the genitive-oblique case sign *s* is prefixed to the nominatives *ini*, *ito*, *adto*, the genitive-oblique sign *sa*, as in Hiliguayna, to the forms with *s*.

In Harayan the nominative is made by prefixing *d* to the stems *an* (cf. above, p. 353) and *ag-to*, and *di* to the root particle in *dia* (cf. above, p. 352); the genitive-oblique is made by prefixing the case sign to the nominative, except in *kagto*, where the nominative case sign is simply changed to *k*.

In Bikol the nominative case sign is prefixed to the root particle in *i-ni* and *i-yan*; the *i* in *idto* is probably not the prefix *i*, but is due to analogical influences (cf. above); the genitive-oblique is made by prefixing the case sign *ka* to what is apparently the nominative.

¹ Cf. Nabaloi *era* 'they' for **ira*, p. 383.

In Pampangan the articular particles of the nominative and genitive singular are prefixed directly to the stem, e. g., *i-ni*, *ni-ni*; that of the oblique singular, to either the genitive or nominative, e. g., *ka-nini*, *keni* (<*ka-ini): to form the nominative-genitive plural the plural particle *da* is prefixed to the nominative singular, e. g., *deni* (<*da-ini), and the oblique plural is made from this form by prefixing *ka*, e. g., *ka-veni*.

In Pangasinan the nominative singular may begin with the stem as in Samaro-Leytean *alto*, or may take the articular prefixes *sa*, *a*, and *i*, e. g., *tan*, *sa-tan*, *a-tan*, *i-tan*; the nominative plural is formed by prefixing to the stem the particle *da* or its combinations with the articular prefixes *sa* and *i*, viz., *sara*, *ira*, e. g., *ra-tan*, *sa-ra-tan*, *i-ra-tan*: the genitive, singular and plural, is formed by prefixing to the stem the genitive singular and plural, respectively of the pronoun of the third person, the two elements being joined by the ligature *n*, e. g., *to-n-tan*, *da-n-tan*: the oblique, singular and plural, is always, and the other cases may be, indicated by the nominative with initial *sa* preceded by the forms of the definite article, e. g., *ed satan*, *ed saratan*; *so satan*, *na satan*, *so saratan*, *na saratan*.

In Ilokan the nominative-genitive singular may begin with the root particle, or may take the prefix *day*, a combination of the plural particle *da* and the articular prefix *i*, e. g., *toy*, *da-y-toy*; the nominative-genitive plural is formed from the nominative singular by substituting for *da* a particle *dag* consisting of plural particle *da* + a pluralizing *g*; the *da* of the singular is borrowed from the plural, where it has apparently lost its plural significance, owing to the presence of an additional plural sign *g*; the oblique singular is made by prefixing a prepositional particle *i* (cf. above, p. 344) to the short form of the nominative, e. g., *i-toy*, or by placing the oblique of the article before the long form of the nominative, as in Pangasinan, e. g., *iti daytoy*; the oblique plural is formed by prefixing *ka* to the nominative-genitive plural, e. g., *ka-dagitoy*.

In Ibanag the case signs of the singular are prefixed directly to the root particle as in *y-au*, or to a demonstrative stem as in *y-a-ri*, *y-u-ri*; in the plural the case signs are prefixed to the genitive singular, the sign of the nominative being the plural particle *da*, or a particle *an* of uncertain identity, that of the genitive, the particle *da*, that of the oblique one of the com-

pounds *takkara*, *takkuara*, equivalent to the particle *da* preceded by the oblique case sign *takka*, *takkuu*. In the nominative singular there are also a series of forms without the case sign *y*, e. g., *au*: it is not impossible that the plural forms like *annan* may have been made from plural forms like *danau* by dropping the initial *d* after the analogy of pairs like *yanu*, *au* in the singular; in this case the doubling of the *n* would be phonetic.

The declension of the demonstratives in the remaining languages is not given in the grammars. The cases are probably indicated by the forms of the definite article. The nominative case signs *a*, *i* and *u* occur prefixed to the root particle in Nabaloi *i-tan*, *i-man*; Magindanao, *a-nan*, *i-nia*; Sulu and Bagobo *i-ni*, Sulu *i-en*, *i-aun*; Batan *u-ri*: Sulu *ietu* is perhaps a modification of **i-tu* with articular *i*, due to the influence of the initial *ie* of the synonymous *ien*: for Nabaloi *iai*, Bagobo *yanggo*, cf. above, p. 352 f. The nominative case signs *sa* and *su* are found in the remaining Nabaloi forms prefixed to the root particle except in *saidiai*, which probably contains *sa* prefixed to a stem beginning with articular *i*.

The connective particles which are used in the formation of the demonstratives are *n*, *i* (*y*), *a* and *ai* (*ay*).

N occurs as final in all the forms of Tagalog, Bikol, and Pangasinan *iya-n*, Tagalog *yao-n*, Hiliguayna *ito-n*, Pangasinan *sata-n* and *sama-n*, Ibanag *yatu-n*, in Nabaloi *sata-n*, *suta-n*, *itu-n*, *sama-n*, *ima-n*, Magindanao *ana-n*, and Sulu *iau-n*: the same *n* occurs followed by another element in all the forms of Ibanag *yatu-n-ye*, and in Bagobo *ya-n-go*. This *n* is also used in Pangasinan to connect the genitive case signs *to* and *da* with the root particle (cf. above, p. 356). The *n* of all the forms of Harayan *dan* may also belong here (cf. above, p. 353).

I, or as it is usually written *y*, occurs as final element in all the forms of Ilokan *dayto-y*, in all the Ibanag forms with final element *ye* (< **ya-i*, cf. above, p. 331), and in Nabaloi *ia-i*, Bagobo *to-y*; it occurs followed by another element in Bagobo *to-i-go*, and in the double ligature *ai*.

A seems to occur as final element in Magindanao *ini-a*, and in the double ligature *ai*.

Ai, a combination of the two ligatures *a* and *i*, occurs as final element in all the forms of Ilokan *dedi-ay*, and in Nabaloi *saidi-ai*, *saili-ai*, and perhaps *iai* (cf. above, p. 353).

Interrogative Pronouns.

The interrogative pronouns are of three kinds:

- a) The personal interrogative 'who?' referring to persons;
- b) the neuter interrogative 'what?' referring to things;
- c) the individualizing interrogative 'which?' referring to either persons or things.

In general the interrogatives consist of root particles, some of which seem to be of adverbial origin, combined with prefixes and suffixes similar to those of the demonstratives.

Case, in those interrogatives which are inflected, is indicated by the prefixes. The plural is indicated sometimes by the articular prefix, sometimes by reduplication, or by both together; sometimes by the suffix.

Some of the interrogatives cannot be broken up into monosyllabic particles, but for the sake of completeness they are all included in the discussion.

The forms of the interrogatives in the various languages are, viz.:

Tag.	PERS. INTER.			NEUT. INTER.
	<i>nom.</i>	<i>gen.</i>	<i>obl.</i>	
	<i>sg.</i> sino	nino, kanino (sa)	kanino	ano
	<i>pl.</i> sinosino	ninonino, (sa)	kanikanino	anoano
		kanikanino		
Bis. (Ceb.)	kinsa, kinsalan	(kansa, kansalan sakansa) ¹		unsa, unsalan
Bis. (Hil.)	sin-o	sin-o, ni sin-o	kay sin-o	ano
		kay sin-o, kalin-o	kalin-o	
		kanin-o	kanin-o	
Bis. (Sam.-Ley.)	sin-o	kanay, nin-o	kanay,	ano
			sa kanay,	
			san kanay,	
			sin kanay	
Bik.	<i>sg.</i> siisay	niisay	kiisay	ano
	<i>pl.</i> saisay	naisay, kaisay	kaisay	
Pamp.	<i>sg.</i> nino	nino, kanino	keno	nanu
	<i>pl.</i> dinino, deno	dinino, deno	kareno	
Pang.	<i>sg.</i> siopa, opa	opa	ed siopa	anto
	<i>pl.</i> siopara	opara	ed siopara	

¹ Little used.

Ilok.	asino, asinno, asin		ania
Igor. (Nab.)	sepa, sepay		{ dyano, ngaramto(i) nganto
Iban.	sg. sinni	nini	takkuanini anni
	pl. dani, danirani	dani	{ takkuarani takkuarani- rani
Mag.	tingin, antain		ngain, antuna
Sulu	sio, hisio		uno
Bag.	sadan		andin

INDIV. INTER.

	nom.	gen.	obl.
Tag.	sg. alin pl. alinalin		
Bis.	hain		
Bik.	arin		
Pamp.	sg. insa, ¹ insanu ¹	ningsa, ningsanu	kingsa, kingsanu kaningsa, kaningsanu
	pl. dingsa, dingsanu	dingsa, dingsanu	karringsa, karingsanu
Pang.	dinan		
Ilok.	adinno, adino, adin		
Igor. (Nab.)	chinan, tua, twai		
Iban.	sg. yasi	nasi	tasi
	pl. danasi	danasi	(no oblique)
Sulu	hadien		

As the case forms of the interrogatives are comparatively few, they will be analyzed in connection with the discussion of the root particles.

A root particle *no* is found in all the forms of the personal interrogative in Tagalog, Hiliguayna, Samaro-Leytean (except *kanay* and derived forms), Pampangan, and Ilokan; in the individualizing interrogative in Pampangan and Ilokan, and

¹ The initial *in* in these forms is without doubt the article *ing*; in this the most common case form of the word, *ng* has been partially assimilated to the following *s*, a change which has apparently not taken place in the other case forms.

perhaps in the neuter interrogatives *ano*, *uno*. The glottal catch in Bisayan *-n-o* is probably secondary. In Ibanag, *no* occurs in the form *ni*, in the personal, and perhaps in the neuter interrogative, the *i* of which is due to the influence of final *i* of the individualizing interrogative *yasi*.

The nominative singular of the personal interrogatives derived from *no* is made by prefixing the personal article *si* to the particle, except in Pampangan, where *ni*, ordinarily a genitive sign, but also used for the nominative in Ilokan, is employed. The initial *a* of Ilokan *a-sino* is perhaps due to the analogy of the neuter interrogative *ania*; *asin* is a shortened form of *asino*. The doubling of the *n* in Ilokan *asinno*, Ibanag *sinni*, is phonetic.

The genitive singular is made with the case signs *ni* and *ka*. *Ni* is prefixed directly to the particle *no* in Tagalog *nino*, Samar-Leytean *nin-o*, Pampangan *nino*, Ibanag *nini*; in Hiliguayna *ni sin-o* it is prefixed to the nominative. *Ka* is prefixed to the genitive with *ni* in Tagalog, Pampangan, and Hiliguayna. Hiliguayna *kalin-o* seems to be derived from *kanin-o* by dissimilation, the first *n* being changed to the related sound *l*. Hiliguayna also possesses a form made by prefixing *kay*, the oblique of the personal article, to the nominative, viz., *kay sin-o*.

The oblique case in Tagalog is identical with the genitive form with case sign *ka*, or is made by placing the oblique of the definite article before this form; in Hiliguayna it is identical with the genitive forms beginning with *k*; in Pampangan the oblique *keno* is probably a modification of *ka-no* with case sign *ka*, based on the analogy of the oblique cases with initial *ke* in the demonstrative and personal pronouns; in Ibanag the oblique case sign *takkua* (cf. above, p. 347) is prefixed to the genitive.

In Tagalog the cases of the plural are made by reduplicating two syllables of the corresponding singular form. In the Pampangan nominative-genitive plural there are two forms, viz., *dinino*, made by prefixing *di*, the root of the inclusive article, to the singular *nino*, and *deno*, probably modified from *di-no* after the analogy of the plurals of demonstratives with initial *de*. The oblique is made by prefixing *ka* to *deno*. In the Ibanag plural, *dani* consists of *ni* with prefixed plural particle

da, *danirani* is a reduplication of this form, and the oblique forms consist of the case sign *takkua* prefixed to these two forms.

It is not impossible that the neuter interrogative *ano* is a combination of *no* with an articular prefix *a*, but it may also be explained as containing the root particle *an*. The *u* of Sulu *uno*, if it is to be analyzed as *u-no*, and is not simply a phonetic modification of *ano*, is probably the same *u* which is used in Batan as definite article.

No also occurs as the final syllable *nu*, *no* of the individualizing interrogative in Pampangan and Ilokan.

This stem *no* is perhaps identical with the particle *no* which is the word for 'if,' in Ilokan, Ibanag, and Pangasinan, the ideas of 'doubting' and 'questioning' being very similar.

A root particle *sa* occurs in all the forms of the personal interrogative in Cebuan, Bikol, and Bagobo, the neuter interrogative in Cebuan, and the individualizing interrogative in Pampangan.

The initial *k* of the Cebuan personal interrogative forms is probably the same which occurs as the sign of the nominative in the demonstratives. The case in this pronoun seems to be indicated not according to the usual rule by initial inflection, but by the difference of the vowel after the initial, *i* indicating the nominative, *a* the genitive-oblique. The particles *in*, *an*, *un*, which precede *sa* in Cebuan and Pampangan, seem to consist of the articular particles *i*, *a*, *u* + the ligature; this seems to be shown by the fact that the *in* of the Pampangan forms is declined like the definite article. The final element *lan* of the Cebuan forms is perhaps to be connected with Tagalog *alin*, Bikol *arin*. The *nu* of *insanu* is to be connected with the stem *no*. The case forms of the Pampangan individualizing interrogative all consist of *sa* or *sanu* preceded by the proper case form of the definite article, except in the oblique singular, where additional forms are made by prefixing *ka* to the genitive, following the analogy of the plural.

The forms of the Bikol personal interrogative are based on an element *isay*, composed of *sa* with prefixed articular *i* and following ligature *i*. To this stem the case forms of the personal and inclusive articles are prefixed in singular and plural respectively, *ka* being equivalent to Cebuan *ka* (cf. p. 348).

In Bagobo *sa-dan*, *dan* seems to be the genitive plural of the third person, just as the *din* of *an-din* 'what?' is the genitive singular (cf. below).

This interrogative root particle *sa* is perhaps identical with the adverbial particle *sa* which means 'perhaps' in Ilokan, and in Tagalog is equivalent to the modal adverb *sana* which imparts to verbs the idea of 'should, would.'

The forms of the personal interrogative in Pangasinan and Nabaloi are clearly connected with Malay *apa* 'what?' *siapa* 'who?' *Pu* may be root particle and the prefixes articular; *o* of the Pangasinan forms being equal to Batan *u*; *se* of the Nabaloi forms, to *sa-i*, as in *saidiai* 'this'; *a* of Malay *apa*, to the *a* of Tagalog *ang*. The *si* of the Pangasinan and Malay forms is of course the personal article, and it is also not impossible that Nabaloi *se* may be some modification of *si*. The final *y* of Nabaloi *sepay* is ligature. In Pangasinan the form without *si* is used as genitive, and the oblique is made by placing the oblique of the definite article *ed* before the nominative. The plural is made by adding *ra* (<*da*) to the forms of the singular.

The root particle of the neuter interrogatives in Pangasinan, Ilokan, and Bagobo is *an*, and the same *an* is perhaps the root particle of all the other neuter interrogatives except the Cebuan and Sulu, and the forms *nġaramto(i)*, *nġanto*, *nġain*; Sulu *uno*, however, may be a modification of *ano* (cf. above, p. 361).

The *o*, *u* of Tagalog, Bisayan, and Bikol *an-o*, Pampangan *nan-u*, Nabaloi *dyan-o*, according to this view, is probably due to the analogy of *sino* or some other interrogative form containing the particle *no*; the initial *n* of the Pampangan form is doubtless derived from *nino*; the initial *dy* (= **y*) in Nabaloi is probably articular. The final *i* of Ibanag *anni*, in which the doubling is phonetic, is probably due to the same cause as the final *i* in *sinni*.

In Pangasinan *an-to* and Bagobo *an-din* (cf. inter. *sa-dan*, above) the second element is apparently the genitive of the pronoun of the third person, literally 'its what?' just as in Nabaloi the common word for 'what' is *nġaram-to* 'its name?' The first part of Magindanao *an-tu-na* seems to be identical with Pangasinan *anto*; *na* is perhaps identical with the genitive of the definite article, the root particle in this case being followed

by a double genitive. Ilokan *ania* is to be analysed in the same way, as *an* + an element *ia* equivalent to the *ya* of the third personal pronoun.

The stem *an* seems also to occur in some of the personal and individualizing interrogatives, viz., in Magindanao *antain*, Pangasinan *di-n-an*, Nabaloi *chi-n-an*.

This *an* is perhaps identical with the locative suffix *an* of nouns and verbs.¹

For Nabaloi *nġaramto*, cf. above; the *i* of *nġaramto-i* is ligature; *nġanto* is contracted from *nġaramto*, *n* being assimilated to the following *t*.

Tagalog *alin* (<**arin* cf. above, p. 333), Bikol *arin* seems to be based on a stem *ar*, the ending *in* being probably the same as the *in* in Bisayan *hain*, and perhaps Magindanao *tinġin*, *antain*, *nġain*. This suffix *in* is different from the *in* of Tagalog *ak-in* 'mine' (cf. below, p. 368), as this *in* would appear in Bisayan and Bikol as *on*, *un*, in Magindanao as *en* (cf. above, p. 331). The same stem occurs perhaps also in the Cebuan forms *kinsalan*, *kansalan*, *unsalan* which may be contracted from **kinsa-alan*, etc., *al* (<**ar*) being in this case combined with a suffix *an* identical with that in Tagalog *haan* 'where?' which bears the same formal relation to *hain* as **alan* does to *alin*. This suffix *an* is doubtless ultimately identical with the locative suffix *an*.

The Ibanag individualizing interrogative is clearly connected with the interrogative adverb *dasi*, the element *asi* being the same. This element *asi* forms its cases like the demonstrative pronouns (cf. above, p. 356 f.).

The idea of 'which?' is closely related to the idea of 'where?' as we see in the two practically synonymous expressions 'which is the road?' and 'where is the road?' Hence it is not surprising that the two ideas are sometimes expressed by the same word, as in Bisayan *hain*, Nabaloi *twa*, *twai*, Sulu *hadien*, which mean both 'which?' and 'where?'

As 'where?' is practically an oblique case, we might expect the initial syllables to be identical with the oblique case signs in these individualizing pronouns, and so they seem to be. The

¹ Cf. my paper, *Analogies between Semitic and Tagalog*, JHU. Circs., No. 163, p. 65.

ha of Bisayan *ha-in*, Sulu *ha-dien* is to be connected with the oblique of Sulu definite article *ha*. This *ha* also occurs in Tagalog in *ha-an* 'where?' The *in* of Bisayan *hain* is difficult (cf. above, p. 363). For the *dien* of Sulu *hadien* see below.

The *di* of Pangasinan *di-nan*, Nabaloi *chi-nan* (<**di-nan*), Ilokan *a-di-no*, etc., and Sulu *ha-di-en* is probably identical with the oblique articular form *di*. The *nan* of the Pangasinan and Nabaloi forms is probably the interrogative stem *an* with preceding ligature *n*, used to connect the prefix to the root particle as it is in the genitive of the demonstratives in Pangasinan (cf. above, p. 356). The initial *a* of the Ilokan forms is to be explained like the *a* of *asino*; the doubling in *adinno* is phonetic; *adin* is a shortened form of *adino*, like *asin* from *asino*. The final *no* of these forms is probably identical with the interrogative root particle *no*.

The *en* of Sulu *hadien* is probably connected with the demonstrative particle *en* (cf. above, p. 353).

Nabaloi *tua* is perhaps identical with Cebuan *tua* 'be there;' the *i* of *tua-i* is ligature.

The remaining interrogative forms, Samaro-Leytean *lunay*, Magindanao *tinġin*, *antuin*, *nġain*, Sulu *sio*, *hisio*, are not clear. *Kanay* contains, of course, the case sign *ka* or *k*; its ending suggests a comparison with the Bikol forms; in the oblique it may be preceded by *sa* and *san*, respectively oblique and genitive of the definite article, and by *sin* the sign of the indefinite object. The Magindanao forms all have the ending *in* (cf. above, p. 363); *antain* probably contains also the interrogative stem *an*; *nġain* may be a combination of *nġa* identical with the ligature, and the suffix *in*. Sulu *sio* seems to contain the personal article *si*, which, however, is not used as such in Sulu; while *hisio* has prefixed, in addition, the regular Sulu personal article *hi*.

Personal Pronouns.

The personal pronouns are of three persons, first, second, and third; each person has two numbers, a singular and a plural, and the plural of the first person again distinguishes two series of forms, an exclusive and an inclusive series (cf. above, p. 325); the first person in some languages possesses also a dual which is

closely related morphologically to the inclusive plural; there is no distinction of gender even in the third person.

Case is indicated partly by prefixes similar to those of the demonstratives and interrogatives, partly by using different root particles and stems.

The personal pronouns consist of simple root particles, modified forms of root particles, and forms derived from the root particles by the addition of prefixes and suffixes.

First Person.

The forms of the personal pronouns of the first person in the various languages are, viz.:

	<i>nom.</i>	<i>gen.</i>	<i>obl.</i>
Tag.	<i>sg.</i> ako	akin, ko, (nakin) ¹	sa akin
	<i>pl. ex.</i> kami	amin, namin	sa amin
	<i>pl. inc.</i> tayo	atin, natin	sa atin
	<i>du.</i> kita, kata	ata, kanita; ta	sa ata, sa kanita
Bis. (Ceb.)	<i>sg.</i> akó	áko, nako, ko, ta	kanako, sa ako
	<i>pl. ex.</i> kami	amo, namo	kanamo, sa amo
	<i>pl. inc.</i> kita	áto, náto, ta	kanáto, sa áto
	<i>du.</i> kitá	ató, nató, ta	kanató, sa ató
Bis. (Hil.)	<i>sg.</i> ako	akon, nakon, ko,	kanakon, sa akon,
		ta	dakon, karakon
	<i>pl. ex.</i> kami	amon, namon	kanamon, sa amon,
			damon, karamon
	<i>pl. inc.</i> kita	aton, naton, ta	kanaton, sa aton,
			daton, karaton
Bis. (Sam.-Ley.)	<i>sg.</i> ako, si ako	akon, nakon, ko	sa akon, dakon
	<i>pl. ex.</i> kami, si kami	amon, namon	sa amon, damon
	<i>pl. inc.</i> kita, si kita	aton, naton, ta	sa aton, daton
Bis. (Har.)	<i>sg.</i> ako, akota	akon, nakon, ta	kanakun
Bik.	<i>sg.</i> ako	ko, niako, sako,	sako, sakoya
		sakoya	
	<i>pl. ex.</i> kami	niamo, samo,	samo, samoya ²
		samoya, mi	
	<i>pl. inc.</i> kita	nñato, sato,	sato, satoya
		satoya, ta	

¹ Used only in the phrase *a-nakin* 'inquam.'

² Written *damoya*, evidently a mistake, in San Agustín.

	<i>nom.</i>	<i>gen.</i>	<i>obl.</i>
Pamp.	<i>sg.</i> ako, ko	ko, koo, ke; kee, da	kanako, kako
	<i>pl. ex.</i> ikami, ike, kami, ke	mi	kekami, keke
	<i>pl. inc.</i> ikamo, ita, katamo, kata, tamo, ta	tamo, ¹ ta	kekata (sic), kekata
	<i>du.</i> ikata, kata, ta	ta, tee, too	kekata
Pang.	<i>sg.</i> siak, ak	ko, -k	ed siak
	<i>pl. ex.</i> sikami, kami	mi	ed sikami
	<i>pl. inc.</i> sikiti, sikatayo, iti, itayo	ti, tayo	ed sikiti, ed sikatayo
	<i>du.</i> sikata, ita	ta	ed sikata
Ilok.	<i>sg.</i> siak, ak	ko, -k	kaniak
	<i>pl. ex.</i> dakami, kami	mi	kadakami
	<i>pl. inc.</i> datayo, tayo	tayo	kadatayo
	<i>du.</i> data, ta	ta	kadata
Igor. (Nab.)	<i>sg.</i> sikak, ak; nak, na	ko, -k, na, ta	
	<i>pl. ex.</i> sikame, kame	me	
	<i>pl. inc.</i> sikatayo, tayo	tayo	
Iban.	<i>sg.</i> sakan, sok, ak	ku, -k, ta	niakan, niok
	<i>pl. ex.</i> sikami, kami	mi	nikami
	<i>pl. inc.</i> ittam	tam	nittam
	<i>du.</i> itta	ta	nitta
Bat.	<i>sg.</i> yakin, ako	niakin, ko	diakin
	<i>pl. ex.</i> yamuen, kami	niamuen, namin, namuen	diamuen
	<i>pl. inc.</i> yaiatin, ² ta		
Mag.	<i>sg.</i> saki, aku	ku, salaki, laki	salaki, sa salaki
	<i>pl. ex.</i> salkami, kami	salkami, nami, lekami	salkami, sa salkami

¹ Written *iamo*, evidently a mistake, in Bergaño.

² Perhaps a mistake for *yatin*, cf. *yamuen*. The forms given as genitive and oblique of this pronoun evidently belong to the pronoun of the second person. The *Batan* grammar from which these paradigms are quoted by Retana (cf. above, p. 323, ft. nt. 2) is in manuscript, according to Retana (p. xl) probably a copy of the original. The personal pronouns are given in the order, 1st sg., 1st exc. pl., 2nd sg., and then follows a paradigm headed 'Plur. de yo inclusivo,' but with genitive and oblique apparently belonging to the second plural; no paradigm of the second plural is given. The copyist has evidently mixed up the paradigms of the 1st inc. pl. and 2nd pl. The forms that we should expect in 1st inc. pl. gen. and obl. are *niatin*, *diatin*.

Mag.	<i>pl. inc.</i> salkitanu, seki-	salkitanu, tanu, salkitanu, sa salki-	
	tanu, tanu, lekitanu	sa salkitanu	tanu
	<i>du.</i> salkita, sekita,	salkita, sekita,	salkita, sa salkita
	ta	ta, lekita	
Sulu.	<i>sg.</i> ¹ aku, ku	ku, kaaku	
	<i>pl. ex.</i> kami	kaamu, kannamu, kanamu	
	<i>pl. inc.</i> kita	kaatu	
Bag.	<i>sg.</i> sakkan	ko	kanakkan
	<i>pl. ex.</i> ² kami, ke, si kami de		kanami
	<i>pl. inc.</i> ³ kita, si kita	ta, nita	kanita

The pronouns of the first person singular are practically all based on one of the root particles *ak*, *ko*, or *ta*.

Ak is found uncombined as nominative in Pangasinan, Ilokan, Nabaloi, and Ibanag: also in Tagalog, Bisayan, Bikol, Pampangan, Batan, Magindanao, and Sulu nominative *ako*, *aku*; in the *ako*, *aku* of the genitive and oblique cases in Bikol and Sulu, and in Harayan *ako-ta*; in the Tagalog and Batan stem *ak-in* and Bisayan stem *ak-on*, *ák-o* and their derivatives; in the nominatives, Pangasinan and Ilokan *si-ak*, Nabaloi *sik-ak*, Ibanag *s-ak-an*, *s-ok* (cf. above, p. 336), Bagobo *s-ak-kan*, and the oblique forms derived from them; in the Magindanao secondary stem *aki* in *s-aki*, etc.; in Nabaloi *n-ak*.

The nominative *ako* may represent a blend of the two root particles *ak* and *ko*, or it may be *ak* with an analogical *o* as in *ikao* 'thou' (cf. below, p. 375), due to the influence of other nominatives in *o* like *tayo* 'we,' *kayo* 'you.' In Harayan *ako-ta* the genitive *ta* is added to this form, probably for the sake of emphasis³ (cf. Nab. *sikam* 'thou,' p. 375, below).

The Magindanao stem *aki* probably owes its final *i* to the analogy of the forms of the exclusive plural *kami*, etc. The *n* of Nabaloi *n-ak* is not clear; the form *na*, which seems to be

¹ The noun *patek* 'slave' is also used for 'I,' as in Malay.

² These pronouns as given together in the paradigms as the equivalent of *nosotros* 'we,' but there is probably the same distinction here as in the other languages; for *ke* as exclusive plural cf. Pampangan.

³ Cf. my paper, *The Bisayan Dialects*, cited above, p. 127.

employed principally before verbal forms beginning with *k*, e. g., *na-kaama-munu* 'I am killing,' is probably a modification of *nak*, due to the fact that the final *k* of the pronoun and the initial *k* of the verb coalesce.

The Tagalog, Batan, and Bisayan stems *ak-in*, *ak-on* are made by adding the suffixes *in* and *on* to the root particle. These suffixes, which are variants of the same original form (cf. above, p. 331 f.), are found also in the passive, and in nominal derivation. When applied to a noun they express the idea of 'like, similar,' e. g., Tag. *uwakin* 'cock black as a raven' from *uwak* 'raven,' *polotin* 'honey (pet name),' from *polot* 'honey;' when applied to a verb they form passives that denote to be directly affected by the action of the root, e. g., Tag. *inumin* (*inum*) 'that which is drunk.' The meaning of the suffix in the pronouns is perhaps nearer that of the verbal suffix, Tagalog *ak-in*, for example, signifying 'that which is affected by me, that which pertains or belongs to me.' In the Cebuan stem *ák-o*, the final *n* was dropped, doubtless because it was regarded as ligature. The *ako*, *aku* of the genitive and oblique forms in Bikol and Sulu may be either the nominative *ako*, *aku*, or may correspond to the Cebuan stem *ák-o* derived from *ák-on*. The element *ya* of Bikol oblique *s-ako-ya* is not clear; it may be the demonstrative root particle *ya* (cf. above, p. 352).

The stems of Ibanag *s-akan*, Bagobo *s-akkan*, are probably identical, the doubling in the latter being phonetic, and consist of the root particle with a suffix *an*, doubtless the same as the nominal and verbal suffix *an*, which expresses the idea of place, e. g., Tag. *saginjan* 'banana grove' from *saging* 'banana,' *inuman* 'vessel (drinking place)' from *inum* 'drink.' These forms would therefore mean literally 'the I place.'

The particle *ko* occurs uncombined as genitive in all the languages except Harayan, and apparently as nominative in Pampangan and Sulu. In Pampangan it may be a shortened form of *ako*. In Sulu it is genitive used as nominative (cf. below, p. 388). The *-k* of Pangasinan, Ilokan, Nabaloi, and Ibanag is a shortened form of *ko*. The Pampangan form *koo*, *ke* and *kee* are modifications of *ko* (cf. below, p. 387).

The particle *ta* occurs uncombined as genitive in Bisayan (except Samaro-Leytean), Nabaloi, and Ibanag. Pampangan *da* is probably a modification of this particle. It is found also in the Harayan nominative *ako-ta* (cf. above, p. 367).

The pronouns of the exclusive plural of the first person are practically all based on a particle *mi*, which occurs uncombined as genitive in Bikol, Pampangan, Pangasinan, Ilokan, Nabaloi, and Ibanag. It also occurs in Magindanao genitive *na-mi*, and in the nominative *ka-mi* of all the languages, and its derivatives with the various articular particles, viz., Pampangan *i-kami*, Samaro-Leytean, Pangasinan and Nabaloi *si-kami*, Ibanag *si-kami*, *ni-kami*, Ilokan *da-kami*, Magindanao *le-kami*, *sal-kami*, *sa sal-kami*, and the oblique forms derived from them in Pampangan, Pangasinan, and Ilokan. The element *ku* of *kami* is perhaps due to the analogy of other plural forms like *kayo* 'you,' *kata* 'we all, we two.'

In Tagalog, Bisayan, Bikol, Batan, and Sulu, there is apparently a root particle *am* that forms in general the same combination as the *ak* of the singular; for example, in Tagalog, *amin* corresponding to *akin*. It is very likely, however, that all these forms with *am* are simply made on the basis of *mi*, after the analogy of the forms of the singular. The final *uen* of the Batan forms is simply the representation of *in* after the labial *m*, cf. *inumuen* = Tagalog *inumín* 'drink.'

Pampangan and Bagobo *ke* in *ke*, *i-ke* is not clear. In Bagobo a particle *de* with the same vocalization, perhaps a modification of the plural particle *da*, is used as genitive.

At the base of the forms of the inclusive plural, and of the dual when it occurs, lies the particle *ta*, doubtless identical with the *ta* of the singular, which is found uncombined as genitive plural in Bisayan, Bikol, Pampangan and Bagobo; as genitive dual in Tagalog, Cebuan, Pampangan, Pangasinan, Ilokan, Ibanag, and Magindanao; and as nominative plural in Batan, nominative dual in Pampangan, Ilokan, and Magindanao. The Pampangan forms *tee*, *too* are secondary modifications of *ta* (cf. below, p. 387). For Pangasinan *tí*, cf. below, p. 371.

Ta occurs also, combined with articular prefixes only, in Tagalog genitive dual *ka-ni-ta* and the oblique derived from it; Pampangan nominative plural, Pangasinan nominative dual *i-ta*; Ibanag dual forms *i-tta*, *ni-tta*, in which the doubling is phonetic; and in Bagobo *ni-ta*, Ilokan *da-ta*, and the oblique forms derived from them. It is found also in Tagalog genitive dual *ata*, and the oblique derived from it, where the initial *a* is prob-

ably due to the analogy of the other genitive forms of the first person. For Pangasinan *i-ti*, cf. below, p. 371.

It occurs also combined with a following root particle of the second person, which probably emphasizes the inclusive signification of the pronoun, the combinations meaning literally 'your we,' 'the *we* of which you form a part,' in *ta-yo*, *ta-mo*, and *ta-nu*. *Ta-yo* occurs as nominative inclusive plural in Tagalog, Ilokan, and Nabaloi, and as genitive in Pangasinan, Ilokan, and Nabaloi. It also occurs with various case indicating prefixes in the nominatives Pangasinan *i-tayo*, Ilokan *du-tayo*, Pangasinan and Nabaloi *sika-tayo*, and the oblique forms derived from the last two in Ilokan and Pangasinan. *Ta-mo* occurs in Pampangan uncombined as nominative and genitive, in the nominative *ka-tamo*, in which *ka* is doubtless due to the analogy of plural and dual forms with initial *ka*, like *kayo* 'you,' and the oblique *ke-katam* in which the final *o* of *katamo* is dropped;¹ it is found also without *o*, in the Ibanag forms *tam*, *i-ttam*, *ni-ttam*, the doubling in the last two forms being phonetic. *Ta-nu* occurs only in Magindanao: as all the forms of the inclusive plural have a corresponding form in the dual without *nu*, it seems more likely that *nu* was added to what are now the forms of the dual, but which had originally both inclusive plural and dual meaning, in order to differentiate between the two numbers, than that the inclusive forms were made independently upon a base *tannu*.

Ta also occurs in the plural and dual forms *ka-ta* and *ki-ta*: *ka* is probably to be explained as the *ka* in *ka-mi*; *ki-ta* perhaps represents a blend of *ku-ta* with *i-ta*, which occurs as nominative dual in Pangasinan and Ibanag, nominative plural in Pampangan. *Kata* occurs uncombined as plural nominative in Pampangan, and as dual nominative in Tagalog and Pampangan. It is found in combination with articular prefixes in Pampangan nominative dual *i-kata*, oblique dual and plural *ke-kata*, Pangasinan nominative dual *si-kata* and the oblique derived from it. *Kita* occurs uncombined as nominative plural in Bisayan, Bikol, Sulu, and Bagobo, and as nominative dual in Tagalog and Cebuan: with articular prefixes in Samaro-Leytean and Bagobo *si kita*; in Magindanao, where it is the basis of most

¹ In Ilokan the pronouns of the first and second persons plural *datayo*, *tayo*, *dakami*, *kami*, *dakayo*, *kayo*, often drop their final vowel in the middle of a sentence: cf. Naves, *op. cit.*, p. 49 f.; H. W. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 55, 56.

of the forms of both dual and plural (cf. below, p. 373); and in Pangasinan *si-kiti* (cf. below), and the oblique derived from it.

In Tagalog, Bisayan, Bikol, Batan, and Sulu plural there is apparently a root particle *at* which is made on the basis of *ta*, after the analogy of the singular, in the same way as the *am* of the exclusive plural. The forms based on *at* are made in the same way as those based on *am*. In Cebuan the forms based on *at* are used also as dual, with, however, a different accent.

The Pangasinan plural forms *ti*, *i-ti*, *si-kiti* seem to be modifications of *ta*, *i-ta*, *si-kita*; the final *i* being probably due to the influence of the exclusive forms *mi*, *kami*, etc.

The case indicating particles which are found in the pronouns of the first person are, in Tagalog *n*, *sa*, *kani*, in Cebuan *n*, *sa*, *ka(n)*, in Hiliguayna *n*, *ka*, *ka(n)*, *al*, *sa*, in Samaro-Leytean *si*, *n*, *al*, *sa*, in Harayan *n*, *ka(n)*, in Bikol *ni*, *s*, in Pampangan *i*, *kan*, *k*, *ke*, in Pangasinan *si*, *i*, *ed*, in Ilokan *si*, *da*, *kani*, *ka*, in Nabaloi *si*, *sika*, *sik*, in Ibanag *si*, *s*, *i*, *ni*, in Batan *i*, *yai*(?), *ni*, *n*, *di*, in Magindanao *se*, *s*, *le*, *l*, *sal*, *na*, *sa*, in Sulu *ka*, *kan*, in Bagobo *si*, *s*, *ni*, *kan*, *ka*.

The prefixes *i*, *ni*, *n*, *sa*, *ka*, *di*, *al*, *da*, *ke*, *ed*, and the oblique case sign *s* of Bikol have already been explained in connection with the demonstratives (cf. above, p. 353 f.); *kani* is a combination of the two articular particles *ka* and *ni*. In the Bisayan sign *ka(n)* it is difficult to say whether the *n* belongs to the case sign or the following stem, i. e., whether forms like Cebuan *kanato* are to be analysed as *ka* + the genitive forms like *nato*, or as *kan* + the genitive forms like *ato*. *Si* is identical with the *si* of the personal article, and *s* in Ibanag *s-akan*, Magindanao *saki*, Bagobo *s-akkan*, is doubtless based upon it; Magindanao *se* also is probably based on *si*, the *e* being due to the influence of the case sign *le*. Pampangan *k* in *kako* is derived from *ka*, *a* having coalesced with the *a* of *ako*. Nabaloi *sika*, *sik* in *sika-tayo*, *sik-ak* are based upon a wrong division of forms like *sikami*, a combination of the stem *kami* with the case sign *si*; in *sikak* the *a* of *sika* coalesces with the *a* of *ak*. The apparent case sign *yai* in Batan *yaiatin*, if it is not simply due to a typographical error, is the result of the reduplication of the first syllable *ya* of *yatin*, a combination of the stem *atin* and case sign *i*. Magindanao *na* of *na-mi* is identical with the genitive of the definite article: since Magindanao has been strongly influenced by Ara-

bic (cf. above, p. 322), the case sign *le*, *l*, which occurs in none of the other languages, may be the Arabic preposition **ل** *li*, which is used to express a dative and sometimes a genitive idea; *sal* is a combination of this element with the case sign *sa*.

In the formation of the cases these particles are added, sometimes to a root particle, sometimes to a modified form of a root particle or to a secondary stem, sometimes to another case form. The forms of the nominative and genitive are often without case sign.

In the nominative, Samaro-Leytean has *si* in all numbers in the forms *si ako*, *si kami*, *si kita*: Pampangan has *i* in the plural and dual forms *i-kami*, *i-ke*, *i-ta*, *i-kamo*, *i-kata*: Pangasinan has *si* in all numbers in the forms *si-ak*, *si-kami*, *si-kiti*, *si-kata*; *sika* in *sika-tayo*; and *i* in inclusive plural and dual in the form *i-ti*, *i-tayo*, *i-ta*: Ilokan has *si* in the singular *si-ak*, and *da* in the plural and dual forms *da-kami*, etc.: Nabaloi has *si* in *si-kame*; *sika*, *sik* in *sika-tayo*, *sik-ak*: Ibanag has *si* in *si-kami*; *s* in *s-akkan*, *s-ok*; and *i* in *i-ttam*, *i-tta*: Batan has *i(y)* in all three numbers in *y-akin*, *yaiatin* (cf. above, p. 366, ft. nt.), *y-amuen*: Magindanao has *s* in *s-aki*; *se* in *se-kitanu*, *se-kita*; *le* in *le-kitanu*; and *sal* in plural and dual *sal-kami*, *sal-kitanu*, *sal-kita*; the forms with *le* and *sal* are genitive-oblique forms used as nominative: Bagobo has *s* in the singular *s-akkan*; *si* in the plurals *si kami*, *si kita*. Nominative forms without case sign, consisting of a root particle, a secondary stem, or some modification of these, are found in all the languages, Tagalog, Bisayan (except Samaro-Leytean), Bikol and Sulu having only forms of this kind.

In the genitive in Tagalog, Bisayan, and Batan there are a number of forms made on the basis of stems derived from the root particles *ak*, *am*, and *at* by the addition of the suffix, *in*, *en*, *on*. For the analogical character of the forms of the plural cf. above, pp. 369, 371. These stems occur in Tagalog and Bisayan both uncombined, and with case sign *n*, e. g., Hil. *ak-on*, *n-ak-on*, in Batan only with the case signs *ni* or *n*, e. g., *ni-amuen*, *n-amuen*.

In Bikol the case signs of the genitive *ni*, *s* are prefixed in the singular to *ako*, which is either nominative or identical with Cebuano genitive *ako*, in the plural to the stems *amo*, *ato*, made after the analogy of *ako*. In Sulu the stems *aku*, *amru*, *atru*, to

which the case signs *ka*, *kan* are prefixed, are susceptible of the same two explanations as the Bikol forms. The double *n* in *kannamu* is perhaps due to the analogy of forms like *kan-nia* 'his' (cf. below, p. 385).

In Magindanao in the singular the case signs *l* and *sal* are prefixed to the secondary stem *aki*; in the plural and dual the case signs are all prefixed to the stems *kami*, *kitanu*, *kita* except in *na-mi*, where *na* is prefixed to the root particle. In Bagobo the case sign *ni* is prefixed to the root particle in *ni-ta*. Genitive forms without case sign, consisting of a root particle or secondary stem, or of some modification of these, are found in all the languages, Pampangan, Pangasinan, Ilokan, Nabaloi, and Ibanag having only genitives of this kind.

In the oblique, Tagalog prefixes *sa* to the forms of the genitive beginning with *a*, and in the dual also to the genitive with case sign *kani*: Cebuan has two series of forms, one in which *sa* is prefixed to genitive forms with initial *a*, one in which *ka(n)* is prefixed to genitive forms (cf. above, p. 371): Hiliguayna has four series of forms, two like those in Cebuan, one in which the case sign *d* is prefixed to forms with initial *a*, one in which an additional case sign *ka* is prefixed to the forms with initial *d*: Samaro-Leytean has two series of forms identical with the Hiliguayna forms with initial *sa* and *d*: Harayan has apparently only one series, identical with the series with initial *k*: the Bikol oblique forms are identical with the genitives with initial *s*: Pampangan makes its oblique singular by prefixing *kan* and *k* to *ako*, probably the nominative, the oblique of the other members by prefixing *ka* to the nominative with articular *i*, *ka + i* becoming *ke*: Pangasinan prefixes *ed* to the nominative with articular *si*: Ilokan makes its oblique singular by prefixing *kani* to the root *ak*, the oblique of the other numbers by prefixing *ka* to the nominative with initial *da*: Ibanag substitutes *ni*, Batan *di*, for the case signs of the nominative: in Magindanao, the oblique case signs *sal* or *sa sal* are prefixed to the same stems as in the genitive.

Second Person.

The forms of the personal pronouns of the second person are, viz.:

	<i>nom.</i>	<i>gen.</i>	<i>obl.</i>
Tag.	<i>sg.</i> ikao, ka <i>pl.</i> kayo, (kamo)	iyō, mo (niyō) ¹ inyo, ninyo	sa iyo sa inyo
Bis. (Ceb.)	<i>sg.</i> ikao, ka <i>pl.</i> kamo	imo, nimo, mo inyo, ninyo	kanimo, sa imo kaninyo, sa inyo
Bis. (Hil.)	<i>sg.</i> ikao, ka <i>pl.</i> kamo	imo, nimo, mo inyo, ninyo	kanimo, sa imo, dimō, karimo kaninyo, sa inyo, dinyo, karinyo
Bis. (Sam.-Ley.)	<i>sg.</i> ikao, ka, si ikao <i>pl.</i> kamo, si kamo	imo, nimo, mo iyo, niyo	sa imo, dimo sa iyo, diyo
Bis. (Har.)	<i>sg.</i> ikao; kao, ka	imo, nimo, mo	kanimo
Bik.	<i>sg.</i> ika <i>pl.</i> kamo	mo, nimo, saimo, simo nindo	saimo, simo saindo
Pamp.	<i>sg.</i> ika, ka <i>pl.</i> ikayo, kayo, iko, ko	mo, moo, me, mee ² yo, yoo, ye, yee	keka ² kekayo, keko
Pang.	<i>sg.</i> sika, ka <i>pl.</i> sikayo, siki, kayo, ki	mo, -m yo	ed sika ed sikayo, ed siki
Ilok.	<i>sg.</i> sika, ka <i>pl.</i> dakayo, kayo	mo, -m yo	kenka kadakayo
Igor. (Nab.)	<i>sg.</i> sikam, ka <i>pl.</i> sikayo, kayo	mo, -m dyo	
Iban.	<i>sg.</i> sikau, ka <i>pl.</i> sikamu, kamu	mu, -m nu	nikau nikamu
Bat.	<i>sg.</i> imu, ka <i>pl.</i> ³	nimo, mo ninio, nio	dimō dinio
Mag.	<i>sg.</i> ka, saleka, seka <i>pl.</i> kanu, salkanu	nengka, saleka, sa salka, leka, ka salkanu, sa sal- kanu, nu, niu, lekanu	salka, sa salka salkanu, sa salkanu
Sulu	<i>sg.</i> ekau, kau, nio <i>pl.</i> kamu	mu, kannio, kanio kaimu	
Bag.	<i>sg.</i> kona, ka, si kona <i>pl.</i> kio, ko, si kio	niko, no nio	kaniko, niko kanio

¹ Used only in the phrase *α-niyo* 'inquis.'² In place of the genitive and oblique forms, which are given elsewhere in the text. the forms of the pronoun of the first person singular are repeated in Bergaño's paradigm.³ Cf. above, p. 366, ft. nt. 2.

The root particles upon which the pronouns of the second person, singular and plural, are based, are *ka*, *mo*, *yo*, and *nu*.

Ka occurs uncombined as nominative singular in all the languages except Bikol and Sulu, and also as genitive in Magindanao. It is found also in the nominatives, Sulu and Harayan, *kau*, *kao*, and with articular prefixes, Bikol and Pampangan *i-ka*, Pangasinan and Ilokan *si-ka*, Tagalog and Bisayan *i-kao*, Sulu *e-kau*, Ibanag *si-kau*, Nabaloi *si-ka-m*; in the oblique forms Pampangan *ke-ka*, Pangasinan *ed si-ka*, Ilokan *ken-ka*, Ibanag *ni-kau*; in all the forms with case signs in Magindanao. The forms in *o*, *u*, probably owe this final element to the analogy of other pronominal forms ending in *o*, *u*, like *tayo*, *kayo*. The final *m* of the Nabaloi form is probably an added genitive element of the same person, like the *ta* in Harayan *ako-ta* (cf. above, p. 367). In the Bagobo genitive and oblique forms *ni-ko*, *ka-ni-ko*; *ko* probably represents a modification of *ka* due to the analogy of the genitive *no*. The particle *ko* which is found in Pampangan and Bagobo in the plural forms *ko*, *i-ko*, *ke-ko*, is probably a blend of the singular *ka* with the final *o* of the plural form *kayo*, which *o* was felt as a sign of the plural. Similarly Pangasinan *ki* in the plural forms *ki*, *si-ki*, *ed si-ki*, is probably a blend of *ku* with the final *i* of plural forms of the first person, viz., *kami*, *sikiti*, etc.

Ka occurs also in the plural stems *ka-yo*, *ka-mo*, *ka-nu*, which are made up of two root particles of the second person. *Kayo* is found uncombined as nominative plural in Tagalog, Pampangan, Pangasinan, Ilokan, and Nabaloi, and with articular prefixes in the nominatives, Pampangan *i-kayo*, Pangasinan and Nabaloi *si-kayo*, Ilokan *da-kayo*, and the oblique forms derived from them. Bagobo *kio* in *kio*, *si-kio*, is, perhaps, a modification of *kayo*, due to the analogy of the genitive *nio*. *Kamo* occurs uncombined in Bisayan, Bikol, Ibanag, Sulu, and in certain dialects of Tagalog, and with articular prefixes in Ibanag *si-kamu*, *ni-kamu*. *Kanu* is found only in Magindanao both uncombined and with articular prefixes. Bagobo *kona* in *kona*, *si-kona*, may represent a metathesis of **ka-no*. The *ka* of Pampangan *katamo* 'we,' and of the Pangasinan and Nabaloi case sign *si-ka*, is an analogical element based on forms like *ka-yo*, *ka-mo* 'you,' where *ka* is root particle.

Mo occurs uncombined as genitive in all the languages except Magindanao and Bagobo. The genitive *-m* of Pangasinan, Ilokan, Nabaloi and Ibanag is a shortened form of *mo*: it is found also in Nabaloi nominative *si-ka-m* (cf. above). Pampangan *moo*, *me*, *mee*, are secondary modifications of *mo* (cf. below, p. 387). *Mo* also occurs with case indicating prefixes in the Bisayan genitives *i-mo*, *ni-mo* and the oblique forms derived from them, in Bikol *ni-mo*, *si-mo*, *sai-mo*, Batan *i-mu*, *ni-mo*, *di-mo*, and Sulu *kai-mu*; it is used, moreover, in the formation of the plural stems, second person *ka-mo* (cf. above), first person *ta-mo* (cf. above, p. 370).

Yo occurs uncombined as genitive plural in Pampangan, Pangasinan, Ilokan, and Nabaloi (*dyo* < **yo*, cf. above, p. 335). Pampangan *yoo*, *ye*, *yee* are secondary modifications of *yo* (cf. below, p. 387). With case indicating prefixes, *yo* is found in the genitives, Tagalog singular, Samaro-Leytean plural *i-yo*, *ni-yo*, Tagalog, Cebuan, and Hiliguayna plural *in-yo*, *nin-yo*, and the oblique forms derived from them; and in the Batan plural forms *nin-io*, *din-io* (*io* = *yo*); it is also used as an element of the plural stems, second person *ka-yo* (cf. above), first person *ta-yo* (cf. above, p. 370).

Batan, Magindanao and Bagobo genitive, Sulu, nominative *niu*, *nio*, which is found also in Sulu *ka-nio* *kan-nio*, Batan *ka-nio*, is probably to be analysed as case sign *ni* + *yo*, the form representing either a different spelling of *niyo*, or a phonetic variant, with *y* changed to the hiatus or glottal catch (cf. forms with *ia* for *iya*, below, p. 381). Bikol *nindo*, *saindo*, are probably modifications of forms identical with Tagalog *ninyo*, *sa inyo*, the *d* being due to the analogy of the corresponding forms of the third person plural, viz., *ninda*, *sa inda*.

The particle *no* occurs uncombined as genitive plural in Ibanag and Magindanao, and as genitive singular in Bagobo. It is also used in Magindanao in the plural stem of the second person *ka-nu* (cf. above) and as a final element of all forms of the first person inclusive plural. It is not impossible that this *no* is a modification of *mo* or *yo*, the *n* being due to the influence of other pronominal genitive forms with initial *n*.

The case indicating prefixes which are found in the pronouns of the second person are, in Tagalog, *i*, *n(i)*, *in*, *sa*, in Cebuan *i*, *n(i)*, *in*, *sa*, *ka(n)*, in Hiliguayna *i*, *n(i)*, *in*, *sa*, *ka(n)*, *d(i)*, *ka*,

in Samaro-Leytean *i*, *si*, *n(i)* *sa*, *d(i)*, in Harayan *i*, *n(i)*, *ka(n)*, in Bikol *i*, *n(i)*, *sa*, *s*, *in*, in Pampangan *i*, *ka*, in Pangasinan *si*, *ed*, in Ilokan *si*, *da*, *ken*, *ka*, in Nabaloi *si*, in Ibanag *si*, *ni*, in Batan *i*, *n(i)*, *d(i)*, *in*, in Magindanao *se*, *sal*, *sale*, *le*, *neng*, *sa*, in Sulu *e*, *ka*, *kan*, *i*, in Bagobo *si*, *ni*, *ka*.

The prefixes *i* (of nom.), *si*, *se*, *da*, *ni*, *sa*, *s*, (of gen.-obl.), *sal*, *le*, *ka*, *ka(n)*, *kan*, *ke*, *ed*, have already been explained (cf. above, pp. 353 f., 371). The prefix *i* in the Tagalog and Bisayan genitive forms *i-yo*, *i-mo* is probably the same as the prepositional *i* in Ilokan oblique of the definite article *i-ti*. Whether the *i* in Batan nominative *i-mu* is this prepositional *i* or the articular *i* of the nominative is difficult to say. The *e* of Sulu *ekau*, though long, seems to be identical with articular *i* (cf. *pēla* 'how much?' = Bis. *pila*). In the Tagalog, Bisayan, Bikol, and Batan case signs *n(i)* and *d(i)* it is uncertain whether the *i* is this prepositional *i*, or the final *i* of the case signs *ni* and *di*, i. e. whether the forms *niyo*, *nimo*, *diyo*, *dimo*, in Tagalog, Bisayan, Bikol and Batan, are to be analysed as *i-yo*, *i-mo* with prefixed case signs *n* and *d*, or as *ni-yo*, *di-mo*, etc. The case signs *n* and *d* would of course be derived from *ni* and *di* (cf. above, p. 354). Ilokan *ken* is probably contracted from **ka-i-n* with the two ligatures *i* and *n*. In Magindanao, *sale* is a fuller form of *sal*; *neng* contains the ligature *ng*; the *e* is an indistinct vowel, as is shown by the spelling *ngka*,¹ and not the result of the contraction of a diphthong; *ne* may, therefore, represent a reduced form of *nu*, the genitive of the definite article. The Tagalog, Cebuan, Hiliguayna, Bikol, and Batan prefix *in*, which occurs both as initial and with additional prefixed case signs, is not clear. It may be the prepositional *i* of *iyō* followed by the ligature *n*, the prefix being thus similar to the prefixes *an*, *in*, *un*, of the Cebuan and Pampangan interrogatives. In the forms with compound prefix like *nin-yo*, *din-yo*, the *i* is of the same ambiguous character as in forms like *ni-yo*, *di-yo* (cf. above).

In general the case signs are used in the formation of cases as in the first person.

In the nominative Tagalog, Bisayan and Bikol have *i* in the singular forms, *i-kao*, *i-ka*: Samaro-Leytean has *si* in the forms

¹ Cf. Porter, *Primer of the Moro Dialect*, Washington, 1903, passim.

si ikao, *si kamo*: Pampangan has *i* in both singular and plural in the forms *i-ka*, *i-kayo*, *i-ko*: Pangasinan, Nabaloi and Ibanag have *si* in both singular and plural in the forms *si-ka*, *si-kayo*, *si-ki*; *si-kam*, *si-kayo*; *si-kanu*, *si-kamu*: Ilokan has *si* in singular *si-ka*; *da* in plural *da-kayo*: Batan has *i*, whether articular or prepositional *i* is doubtful, in singular *i-mu*: Magindanao has *se* and *sale* in the singular *se-ka*, *sale-ka*; *sal* in the plural *sal-kanu*: Sulu has *e=i*, in *e-kanu*: Bagobo has *si* in the forms *si' kona*, *si kio*. Nominative forms without case sign, consisting of a root particle or plural stem, or some modification of these, are found in all the languages.

In the genitive in a number of languages secondary stems are made by prefixing prepositional *i* and the particle *in* to the root particles, viz., Tag. *i-yo*, *in-yo*, Bis. *i-yo*, *i-mo*, *in-yo*, Bik. *i-mo*, *in-do* (cf. above, p. 376), Batan *i-mo*, *in-io*, Sulu *i-mu*. In Tagalog and Bisayan these stems occur both uncombined and with the prefixed case signs *n*, e. g., Tag. *inyo*, *n-inyo*. In the other languages they are found only with case signs, Bikol *n(i)*, *n*, *sa*, *s* in *nimo*, *n-indo*, *sa-imo*, *s-imo*; Batan *n(i)*, *n* in *nimo*, *n-inio*, Sulu *ka* in *ka-imu*. In Magindanao the case signs are prefixed to the nominatives *ka* and *kanu*; *neng*, *le*, *sale*, *sa sal* to *ka*; *le*, *sal*, *sa sal* to *kanu*. In Sulu the case signs *ka* and *kan* are prefixed in the singular to the form *nio*, which though used as a nominative is formally a genitive; in the plural, *ka* is prefixed to the secondary stem *imu*. In Bagobo, *ni* is prefixed to the root particle in *nio=ni-yo*, and *ni-ko*, in which *ko* is a modified form of *ka* (cf. above, p. 375). Genitive forms without case signs, consisting of a root particle either unchanged or in some modified form, are found in all the languages, Pampangan, Pangasinan, Ilokan, Nabaloi, and Ibanag having only forms of this kind.

In the oblique Tagalog prefixes the case sign *sa* to the genitives with initial *i*; each of the Bisayan dialects has the same series of forms based on the genitives as in the first person, the analysis of the forms with initial *kan*, *di*, and *kari* being ambiguous. In Bikol in the singular, as in the first person, the oblique forms are identical with the genitives with initial *s*, in the plural the case sign *sa* is prefixed to the secondary stem *indo*. In Batan in the plural the case sign *d* is prefixed to the secondary stem *inio*; the singular *dimo* has the case sign *d(i)*.

In Bagobo the case sign *ka* is prefixed to the genitive in *ka-niko*, *ka-nio*; the genitive *niko* is also used as oblique. In Pampangan, Pangasinan, Ilokan, Ibanag, and Magindanao the case signs are prefixed to the nominative. In Pampangan, *keka*, *kekayo* and *keko* are derived from the nominatives *ika*, *ikayo* and *iko* by prefixing *ka*; *kai* becoming *ke*. Pangasinan forms its oblique by prefixing *ed* to the nominatives with case sign *si*, Ibanag changes this *si* to *ni*. Ilokan forms its singular by prefixing *ken* to the nominative *ka*, its plural by prefixing *ka* to the nominative with case sign *da*. In Magindanao, *sal* and *sa* *sal* are prefixed to *ka* and *kanu*.

Third Person.

The forms of the personal pronouns of the third person are, viz.:

	nom.	gen.	obl.
Tag.	<i>sg.</i> siya	niya	kaniya
	<i>pl.</i> ¹ sila	nila	kanila
Bis. (Ceb.)	<i>sg.</i> siya ²	niya, ² iya, ² na	kaniya, ² saiya,
	<i>pl.</i> sila	nila, ila	kanila, saila
Bis. (Hil.)	<i>sg.</i> siya ²	niya, ² iya	kaniya, sa iya, dia,
			karia, sang iya
	<i>pl.</i> { sila	nila, ila	kanila, sa ila, dila,
	{ sanda	nanda, anda	sang ila
Bis. (Sam.-Ley.)	<i>sg.</i> siya	niya, iya	kananda, sa anda
			kaniya, diya,
			sa iya
	<i>pl.</i> sira	nira, ira	dira, sa ira
Bis. (Har.)	<i>sg.</i> tana	ana, na	kana, kanana,
			kaniya
	<i>pl.</i> sanda	anda, nanda	kananda
Bik.	<i>sg.</i> siya	niya	saiya
	<i>pl.</i> sinda	ninda	sainda
Pamp.	<i>sg.</i> iya, ya, na, ne	na, ne, nee, no,	keya
		noo	
	<i>pl.</i> ila, la, no	da, de, dee, doo	karela
Pang.	<i>sg.</i> sikato	to	ed sikato
	<i>pl.</i> sikara, ra, ira	da, ra	ed sikara

¹ The forms of the plural may also be reduplicated, e. g., *silasila*, *kanikanila*.

² These forms are also written with *ia* instead of *iya*.

Ilok.	<i>sg.</i> isu <i>pl.</i> isuda, da, ida	na da	kenkuana, kaniana kadakuada, kaniada
Igor. (Nab.)	<i>sg.</i> sikato, to <i>pl.</i> sikara, si era, era	to cha, ra	
Iban.	<i>sg.</i> ya <i>pl.</i> ira	na da	sa nira
Bat.	<i>sg.</i> ya, sia <i>pl.</i> sira, sa	na, nia nira, dara ²	dia, ¹ sia ¹ dira, sira, ² da, ³ ra ³
Mag.	<i>sg.</i> salkanin, sekanin, nin <i>pl.</i> silan, salkilan	salkanin, sa { salkanin, na { lekanin, nin kanilan, sa kani- lan, nilan	salkanin, kana { salkanin sa { kanilan, sa kanilan
Sulu	<i>sg.</i> sia, nia <i>pl.</i> sila, nila	nia, kansia, kannia kansila, kanila	
Bag.	<i>sg.</i> kandin, si kandin <i>pl.</i> kandan, si kandan	din dan	kandin kandan

The pronouns of the third person singular all appear to be based on one of the particles *ya*, *na*, *to*, *su*, and *nin*. *Ya* and *na* are probably identical respectively with the ligatures and articular and demonstrative particles *ya*, *na*; *to* is probably identical with the demonstrative particle *to*; *su* with the Batan and Pangasinan article *su*, *so*; *nin* is perhaps the demonstrative root particle *ni* + the ligature *n*.

Ya occurs uncombined in the nominative in Pampangan, Ibanag, and Batan; with case indicating prefix in the nominative in Tagalog, Bisayan (except Harayan), and Bikol *si-ya*, Batan and Sulu nominative *sia* (for *si-ya*), Pampangan *i-ya*,

¹ These case forms are headed 'Dat. ac. abl.'; *sia* doubtless belongs to ac.=accusative; cf. above, p. 341, ft. nt. 2.

² Probably a mistake for *da*, *ra*, cf. oblique, and Pangasinan and Nabaloi genitive. The use of a reduplicated form in the plural, however, is *a priori* quite natural, and is found in Tagalog (cf. above. p. 379, ft. nt. 1), hence it is possible that the form is correct.

³ These forms are given under the head of 'Acus.' = accusative.

Sulu *nia* (borrowed from the genitive), in the genitive in Tagalog, Bisayan (except Harayan), and Bikol *ni-ya*, Batan and Sulu *nia* (for *ni-ya*), Bisayan (except Harayan) *i-ya*; and in all the oblique forms in Tagalog, Bisayan (in Harayan only in *kani-ya*), Bikol, Pampangan, and Batan. In the forms written with *ia* for *iya* we have either a variant spelling, or the intervocalic *y* has been changed to the hiatus or glottal catch (cf. *nio* for *nioyo* above, p. 376).

Na occurs uncombined as genitive in Cebuan, Harayan, Pampangan, Ilokan, Ibanag, and Batan, and as nominative in Pampangan. In Harayan it is the root particle of the pronoun in all its forms with the exception of the oblique *kani-ya*. The *ta* of the nominative *tana* is perhaps to be connected with the demonstrative root particle *ta*. The initial *a* of the genitive *ana* is probably due to the analogy of the plural form *anda* (cf. below). *Na* also forms the basis of the Ilokan oblique forms *kenkua-na*, *kania-na*. The Pampangan forms *ne*, *nee*, *no*, *noo*, are probably secondary modifications of *na* (cf. below, p. 387). It is not likely that *no* has any connection with the particle *nu*, *no* of the second person.

To is found only in Pangasinan and Nabaloi, both uncombined, and with prefixed case signs in Pangasinan and Nabaloi *sika-to*, Pangasinan *ed sika-to*.

Su occurs only in Ilokan singular *i-su* with articular *i*, and in *isu*, a prefix of the nominative plural (cf. below).

Nin forms the basis of all the forms of the pronoun in Magindanao. With this *nin* the particle *din* which forms the basis of the pronoun in Bagobo is perhaps to be connected, the initial *d* being due to the influence of the plural *dan*.

What Ibanag *sa* represents is doubtful. An original *s* seems to be preserved in Ibanag only before *i*, otherwise becoming *t* (cf. above, p. 333); hence *sa* can hardly be connected with the articular *sa* of the other languages. It may be contracted from **sia* < **siya* just as perhaps *sakan* 'I' from **si-akan*, though it is difficult to see why such a form should be used as oblique.

The pronouns of the third person plural, with the exception of Batan *sa*, which is perhaps identical with the inclusive article of Bisayan and Bikol, are all based on one of the particles *da*, *ra*, *la*, which are perhaps ultimately identical.

Da occurs uncombined as genitive in Pampangan, Pangasinan, Ilokan, Nabaloi (*cha* < **da*) and Ibanag; as nominative in Ilokan; and as oblique in Batan. Pampangan *de, dee, doo* are secondary modifications of *da* (cf. below, p. 387). Bagobo *dan* in *dan, kan-dan, si kan-dan*, is probably *da*+the ligature *n*. *Da* is found also with case indicating prefixes in Hiliguayna and Harayan stem *an-da*, the Bikol stem *in-da*, and in the Ilokan forms *isu-da, i-da, kania-da, kudakua-da*, and in the compound case sign *ka-dakua* of the last (cf. below, p. 384). It also forms the first element of Batan genitive *da-ra* (cf. above, p. 380, ft. nt. 2). The *an* and *in* of the stems *an-da, in-da* are probably to be explained as articular *a, i*+ligature *n*, like the prefixes *an, in, un*, of the interrogative pronouns (cf. above, p. 361).

The particle *ra* occurs preceded by case signs ending in a vowel in Samaro-Leytean, Pangasinan, Nabaloi, Ibanag and Batan: *la* is found in Tagalog, Cebuan, Hiliguayna, Pampangan, Magindanao, and Sulu under similar conditions; the final *n* of the Magindanao forms is probably due to the analogy of the singular. *Ra* occurs uncombined in Pangasinan genitive and nominative, Nabaloi genitive, and Batan oblique, and in Batan *da-ra* (cf. above). *La* occurs uncombined as nominative in Pampangan.

It is difficult to determine with certainty the exact relation of the three particles *da, ra, la*. *Ra* seems almost certainly to be simply a phonetic modification of *da*, in all the languages in which it occurs. This is indicated by the following facts. In all these languages *da* and *ra* occur alongside of one another (in Samaro-Leytean cf. the forms of the inclusive article), and as the change of intervocalic *d* to *r* is a common phenomenon of these languages (cf. above, p. 334), and as they seem to present no change from *r* to *d*, the supposition lies near at hand that the two are simply different forms of the same particle, *da* being the more original form. This supposition is strengthened by the evidence of Ilokan, which does not change intervocalic *d* to *r*, where the form corresponding to Pangasinan and Ibanag *ira*, Nabaloi *era*, is *ida*. According to this explanation the *r* of the uncombined form *ra* of Pangasinan, Nabaloi, and Batan would be due to the analogy of forms like *ira*, where the *r* is organic.

The particle *la* is perhaps a further phonetic modification of this *ra* resulting from original *da* after a vowel. It is true that

r resulting from intervocalic *d* is regularly retained in these languages, but as words of very frequent use often suffer special phonetic changes, it may be that in these pronouns the secondary *r* became *l* just as original *r* became *l* in these languages (cf. above, p. 333). In this case the uncombined *la* of Pampangan would be analogical like the uncombined *ra*.

It is also possible, however, to suppose that *la* is a particle distinct from *da*. If so it can hardly represent an original *la*, as in that case the intervocalic *l* would have been lost in Tagalog and Sulu, but as in the languages where *la* is found *l* often represents an *r* of the other languages (cf. above, p. 333), the original form of the particle was perhaps *ra*. If this supposition is correct, the *ra* in some of the forms may be referred to the same original particle, as original *r* is usually retained in these languages, but in just which forms, it would be difficult to say.

The case indicating prefixes that are found in the pronouns of the third person are in Tagalog *si*, *n(i)*, *ka(n)*, Cebuan *si*, *n(i)*, *i*, *ka(n)*, *sa*, in Hiliguayna *si*, *s*, *n(i)*, *n*, *i*, *ka(n)*, *d(i)*, *ka*, *sa*, *sang*, in Samaro-Leytean *si*, *n(i)*, *i*, *ka(n)*, *d(i)*, *sa*, in Harayan *s*, *n*, *ka*, *ka(n)*, *kan*, in Bikol *si*, *s*, *n(i)*, *n*, *sa*, in Pampangan *i*, *ka*, *kare*, in Pangasinan *sika*, *i*, *ed*, in Ilokan *i*, *isu*, *kenkua*, *kadakua*, *kania*, in Nabaloi *sika*, *e*, *si*, in Ibanag *i*, *n(i)*, (for the case sign of *sa*, cf. above, p. 381), in Batan *si*, *n(i)*, *d(i)*, in Magindanao *salka*, *seka*, *leka*, *sa*, *na*, *kana*, *si*, *salki*, *n(i)*, *ka(n)*, in Sulu *si*, *n(i)*, *ka*, *ka(n)*, *kan*, in Bagobo *kan*, *si*.

The signs *i* (of nom.), *si*, *s* (of nom.), *sika*, *i* (prepositional), *in*, *na*, *n(i)*, *n*, *sa*, *d(i)*, *ka*, *ka(n)*, *kan*, *ed* have already been explained (cf. above, pp. 353 f., 371, 377).

The ambiguous signs are found in the following forms: *n(i)* in *niya*, *nia*, *nilan*, *nira*, in Tagalog, Bisayan, Bikol, Ibanag, Batan, Magindanao, and Sulu; *ka(n)* in *kaniya*, *kanilan* in Tagalog, Bisayan, and Magindanao, in *kananda* in Hiliguayna and Harayan; *d(i)* in *dia*, *dila*, *dira* in Hiliguayna, Samaro-Leytean, and Batan. *I* in Pampangan, Pangasinan, Ilokan, and Ibanag is articular (cf. above, p. 353); in Bisayan, prepositional (cf. above, p. 344); Nabaloi *e* is probably a modification of articular *i* due to the following *r*; Hiliguayna *sang* is the genitive of the definite article; Pampangan *kare* is probably borrowed from the oblique plural of the demonstratives *karenî*, *kareti*, etc.; Ilokan

isu is the pronoun of the third person singular used as case sign; *kenkua* and *kadakuua* contain the noun *kua* (cf. above, p. 347) and the case signs *ken* (cf. above, p. 377), and *kada*, which is derived by a wrong division from the oblique plural forms of the first and second persons, e. g., *ka-datayo*, where the *da* belongs to the stem and not to the oblique case sign; *kaniua* in the forms *kaniania* and *kaniada* is a combination of the particles *ka* and *ni* with an *a* which is probably due to a wrong division of the case signs containing *kua*, viz., *kadaku-ana*, *kadaku-ada*. In Magindanao, *kana* is the genitive and oblique of the definite article; the *ka* of *seka*, *leka* and *salka* is probably due to a wrong division of forms like *sal-kanu* 'you' where the *ka* belongs to the pronominal stem and not to the case sign; *salki* may be borrowed in the same way from forms like *sal-kita*, 'we two,' or it may be the case sign *salka* with the *a* changed to *i* before *la* after the analogy of the other forms of the plural; for the elements *se*, *le*, *sal*, cf. above, pp. 371, 372.

In general the case signs are used in the formation of cases as in the pronouns of the first and second persons.

In the nominative, Tagalog, Cebuan, Hiliguayna, Samaro-Leytean, Batan, and Sulu, prefix *si* to the root particles *ya* and *la*, *ra* in both singular and plural, in *si-ya* (*sia*), *si-la*, *si-ra*. In Hiliguayna and Harayan plural the case sign *s* is prefixed to the stem *anda*. In Bikol, *si* is prefixed to the root particle *ya* in the singular, *s*, to the stem *inda* in the plural. In Pampangan, *i* is prefixed to the root particle in singular *i-ya*, plural *i-la*. In Pangasinan and Nabaloi in the singular, *sika* is prefixed to the root particle in *sika-to*; in the plural both prefix *sika* and *i*, *e* to the root particle *da* or *ra*, and Nabaloi makes an additional form by prefixing *si* to the form with case sign *e*. Ilokan prefixes *i* to the root particle in singular *i-su*, plural *i-da*, and also makes a plural form by prefixing *isu* to the root particle. Ibanag has *i* in the plural *i-ra*. In Magindanao in the singular the signs *seka*, *salka* are prefixed to the root particle *nin*; in the plural *si* and *salki* are prefixed to *lan*, the root particle *la* with an analogical *n* derived from the singular. In Sulu the case signs *si* and *ni* are prefixed to the root particles in singular and plural, *sia* and *nia* being equivalent to *si-ya*, *ni-ya*: the forms with *ni* are borrowed from the genitive (cf. below, p. 388). In Bagobo the nominative of both numbers seems to

be identical with the oblique; the nominative, however, may take the additional case sign *si*.

Nominative forms without case sign are found in Harayan (*tana* cf. above, p. 381), Pampangan, Pangasinan, Ilokan, Nabaloi, Ibanag, Batan and Magindanao, consisting, with the exception of Batan *sa* (cf. above, p. 381) of a root particle, two root particles (*tana*), or a modified form of a root particle.

In the genitive, Bisayan (except Harayan), as in the pronouns of the second person, makes genitives by prefixing prepositional *i* to the root particles, viz., *i-ya*, *i-la*. It is not impossible that the genitive forms *niya(nia)*, *nila* of Tagalog, Bisayan, Bikol, Batan, Magindanao, and Sulu are based on this stem, the case sign being *n*, but it seems more likely that they consist of the case sign *ni* + the root particle. Hiliguayna, Harayan, and Bikol prefix in the plural the case sign *n* to the stems *anda*, *inda*. In Magindanao in the singular, the case signs *leka*, *salka*, *na salka*, *sa salka*, are prefixed to the root particle *nin*; in the plural the forms are based on *lan* (cf. above), the case signs being *n(i)*, *ka(n)*, and *sa ka(n)*. Sulu *kanila* has the case sign *ka(n)*; in *kan-nia*, *kan* is prefixed to the genitive; in *kan-sia*, *kan-silu*, to the nominative. Genitive forms without case sign, consisting of a root particle or stem, or some modification of a root particle, are found in all the languages except Tagalog, Samaro-Leytean, Bikol and Sulu.

In the oblique, the Tagalog forms may be based either on the genitive or the secondary stem with initial *i*, the case sign being *ka(n)*. Each of the Bisayan dialects has in general the same series of forms as in the pronouns of the first and second persons; the forms with case sign *sa* are based on the secondary stem with initial *i*; the forms *kaniya*, *kanila*, *kananda* have the case sign *ka(n)* as in Tagalog; the forms with initial *d* and *kar* have the case sign *d(i)*; in Harayan, oblique forms are made from the genitives *na*, *ana* by prefixing *ka* and *kan* respectively. In Hiliguayna there is an additional series of forms made by prefixing *sang*, the genitive of the definite article, to the stem with initial *i*; in Samaro-Leytean, in addition to the regular series, there is the form *kaniya* with case sign *ka(n)*. The Bikol forms are made by prefixing *sa* to the stems with prefixed *i* and *in*. Pampangan makes its singular by prefixing *ka* to the nominative with articular *i*; in the plural we

should expect **kela*, but the form has become *karela* under the influence of the demonstratives. In Pangasinan, *ed* is prefixed to the nominative with case sign *si*. In Ilokan the case signs are prefixed to the root particles, *kenkua* and *kudakua* in the singular and plural respectively, *kania*, to both numbers. In Ibanag the plural *nira* contains the sign *n(i)*; for the singular *sa* cf. above, p. 381. Batan has the forms *dia*, *dira* with sign *ā(i)*, also *sia* and *sira* identical with the nominative. In Magindanao all the forms are identical with genitive forms, except *kana salkanin*, in which *kana salka* is prefixed to the root particle. In Bagobo *kan* is prefixed to the genitive. The only oblique forms without case sign are Batan *da* and *ra*, which are given as accusative forms (cf. above, p. 380, ft. nt. 3). These forms may be really genitives, their presence under the head of accusative being due to a mistake of the grammarian or copyist (cf. above, p. 366, ft. nt. 2).

General Remarks on Case Formation.

Generally speaking, the inflection of pronouns in the Philippine languages is initial, and is based on the forms of the articles. The nominative is often without case sign, especially in the personal pronouns, but is also frequently indicated by initial *i*, *si*, which are identical respectively with the *i* of the nominatives, Ibanag *i*, Pampangan *i-ng*, etc., of the definite article, and *si* of the personal article; it is also sometimes indicated by *s* derived from *si*.

The genitive is most frequently characterized by an initial *n*. As the ligatures *na*, *n*, are still often used between two nouns that stand to one another in the relation of genitive and modified noun, e. g. Tag. *bahay na bato*, 'house of stone,' *baro-n kastila*, 'a shirt of Spain, Spanish shirt,' it is very likely that the genitive sign *n* is derived from them.

In the personal pronouns there are a number of genitive forms without case sign. These forms, which are usually root particles, are placed after the modified word, the genitive being originally indicated simply by the postposition. Doubtless in some primitive stage of the Philippine languages, any root particle might be thus used as a genitive, but in the course of time, however, certain root particles were adapted to this use (so with *ko* and *mo* of the first and second persons respectively), others being excluded.

In Pampangan the number of genitive forms of this kind has been greatly increased by modifying the final vowel of the root particle. There are five series of these forms, the endings being *a*, *o*, *e*, *oo*, *ee*. Of the forms in *a*, all are unmodified root particles except *da* (1. sg.) [cf. above, p. 368]. Of the forms in *o*; *ko*, *mo* and *yo* are root particles; *no* (3. sg.) is modified from *na* on the analogy of these forms. The forms in *e*, viz., *ke*, *me*, *ye*, *ne*, *de*, are all secondary; the *e* may have arisen from the combination of a root particle ending in *a*, e. g. *na* (3. sg.) with ligature *i*, and then have been extended to the other forms. The forms in *oo* and *ee* are derived from the *o* and *e* series respectively by repeating the final vowel. The repetition seems to be emphatic, these forms being used when the subject of the verb of which they are the agent, is omitted.

This expression of the genitive by simple postposition has been extended in Ilokan to the other pronouns, e. g. *ti balay ti tao*, 'the house of the man,' *iti atep toy a balay*, 'the thatch of this house,' so that the genitives of the various pronouns are always identical with some form of the nominative.

The oblique case is never without a case indicating prefix, except in the doubtful Batan forms *da*, *ra* (cf. above, p. 386). It is usually characterized by an initial *d*, *s*, or *k*, derived respectively from the oblique case forms of the articles *di*, *sa*, and *ka*. These oblique case forms are prepositional in character, but have this peculiarity, viz., that they denote not only the case, but also the idea of the definite, personal or inclusive article before a following noun. For example, 'in the house' is in Tagalog not literally *sa ang bahay*, but simply *sa bahay*, the oblique *sa* expressing both the idea of 'in,' and that of the definite article.

It is quite common for forms which have oblique case signs to be used as genitives, as, for example, in the Sulu personal pronouns, and instances also occurs in which forms with genitive case sign are used as oblique, for example, in the Cebuan demonstratives and Ibanag personal pronouns.

The identity of nominative and genitive forms in Ilokan has already been mentioned. Other instances of this identity are found, especially in Pampangan and certain languages of the Northern Group, and there especially in the inclusive article,

and the plural of other pronouns. In the Sulu personal pronouns the use of genitive forms in the nominative is probably due to the fact that both nominative and genitive forms are found after the case sign *kan*, e. g. *kan-sia*, *kan-nia*, thus giving rise to the idea that the forms like *sia* and genitive forms like *nia* are equivalent.

Oblique case forms are found in the nominative in the Magindanao personal pronouns, the Cebuan demonstratives and interrogatives with initial *k*, the Harayan demonstratives with initial *l*, and the Bagobo pronouns of the third person. In the Magindanao personal pronouns the case forms are very much confused, some forms being used for all three cases. In the demonstratives, the use of the oblique forms in the nominative is probably due to the fact that certain adverbs of place, identical with the oblique forms of the demonstratives, were used as simple demonstratives, 'the there man,' or 'the man there,' being used as the equivalent of 'this man,' (cf. the use of the Cebuan adverb *karon*, above p. 351, ft. nt. 1.) The oblique case signs thus introduced into the nominative became the regular nominative case signs of the demonstratives, and in Cebuan, were also extended to the interrogatives. The nominative forms of the Bagobo pronouns of the third person are possibly to be explained in the same way, inasmuch as pronouns of the third person and demonstratives are very closely related.

The nominative forms given under the oblique in Batan are probably used only in the accusative (cf. above, pp. 341, ft. nt. 2, 380, ft. nt. 3). The difficult Ibanag oblique *sa* (3. sg.) seems to have a nominative case sign (cf. above, p. 381).

List of principal Elements used in the Formation of the Pronouns.¹

- a—1) lig., cf. p. 338. 2) elem. of ligs. *ay*, *ya*, cf. p. 340. 3) final elem. in dems., cf. p. 357. 4) root part. of def. arts. *ang*, *an*, cf. p. 341. 5) prefix in dems., cf. p. 354, and dem. stems like *ari*, cf. p. 354 f. 6) elem. of *an*, and perhaps of *ad*, *ag*. 7) perhaps dem. root part., cf. p. 352, and root part of *e*.
- ad—elem. of dem. stem *adto*, cf. p. 354 f.
- ag—elem. of dem. stem *agto*, cf. p. 354 f.

¹ For elements of inc. art. not included here, cf. p. 348.

- ak₁—root part., 1. sg., cf. p. 367.
 ak₂—sign of indef. object in Ceb., cf. p. 345.
 al—cf. *ar*.
 am—elem. of prons. 1. exc. pl., cf. p. 369.
 an₁—prefixed elem. in Ceb. inter. *h-an-sa*, cf. p. 361, and in the stem *anda*, 3. pl., cf. p. 382.
 an₂—prefixed elem. in nom. pl. of Iban. dems., cf. p. 356 f.
 an₃—inter. root part., cf. p. 362.
 an₄—probably suffix in Ceb. inters. ending in *lan*, cf. p. 363.
 an₅—suffix of prons. 1. pers., cf. p. 368.
 ar—elem. of inters. Tag. *al-in*, Bik. *ar-in*, and perhaps of Ceb. forms ending in *lan*, cf. p. 363.
 asi—stem of indiv. inter. in Iban., cf. p. 363.
 at—elem. of prons. 1. inc. pl., cf. p. 371.
 au—dem. root part., cf. p. 353.
 ay, ai—1) lig., cf. p. 338. 2) final elem. of dems., cf. p. 357.
 bbad—final elem. of Bag. numeral 'one,' cf. p. 345.
 chi—Nab. form of *di*.
 d₁—obl. case sign in Tag. dems., cf. p. 354; in prons. 1. pers., cf. p. 371; and in Bat. *du*, cf. p. 344: [cf. also *d(i)*].
 d₂—nom. case sign in dems., cf. p. 354.
 da, ra, la—1) root part., 3. pl., cf. p. 381. 2) elem. of pl. def. art. in Pang., cf. p. 342. 3) root part. of inc. art. in Ilok. and Iban., elem. of inc. art. in Pang., cf. p. 348. 4) plural elem. of dems. in Pamp., Pang., and Iban., cf. p. 354. 5) elem. of prefixes *dag* and *day*. 6) prefix of gen. pl. of Pang. dems., cf. p. 356. 7) prefix in Ilok. prons., 1. pl., *du*, 2. pl., cf. pp. 372, 378. 8) elem. of pers. inter. in Pang., Iban., and Bag., cf. pp. 360, 361, 362, and of indiv. inter. in Iban., cf. p. 363. 9) perhaps elem. of *dday*.—Pampangan *da* gen. of pron. 1. sg. is not identical with this *da*, but a modification of *ta*.
 dday—final elem. of Iban. numeral 'one,' cf. p. 345.
 dag—prefix of pl. in Ilok. def. art. and dems., cf. pp. 342, 354.
 day—prefix of dems. sg. in Ilok., cf. p. 356.
 de₁—gen. of pron. 1. exc. pl. in Bag., cf. p. 369.—Pamp. *de* gen. of pron. 3. pl. is not identical with this *de*, though both are probably modifications of *da*.
 de₂—prefix of Pamp. inter. pl. *de-no*, cf. p. 360.
 di₁—1) obl. of def. art. [Nab. *chi*], cf. p. 343, and of pers. art., cf. p. 347. 2) obl. case sign in Tag. dems., cf. p. 353.

- 3) elem. of indiv. inter. in Pang., Ilok., Nab., and Sulu, cf. p. 364. 4) obl. case sign in Batan prons. 1. pers., cf. p. 371.—[cf. also *d(i)*].
- di*₂—dem. root part., cf. p. 352.
- di*₃—1) root part. of pl. of def. art. in Pamp., cf. p. 342. 2) root part. of inc. art. in Pamp., and elem. of inc. art. in Pang., cf. p. 348. 3) prefix of pers. inter. pl. in Pamp., cf. p. 360.—perhaps a modification of *da*.
- di*₄—nom. case sign in Ceb. and Har. dems., cf. p. 354 (= *di*₁).
- d(i)*—obl. case sign, may be *d*₁ or *di*₁, in prons. 2. and 3. pers., cf. pp. 377, 383.
- din*—in Bag., root part., 3. sg., and final elem. of neut. inter., cf. pp. 381, 362.
- ding*—in Pamp., stem of pl. of def. art., and elem. of pl. of indiv. inter., cf. pp. 342, 361.
- e*—nom. of def. art. in Nab., cf. p. 341.—*e* in Sulu *ekaru* is identical with *i*₁, cf. p. 377.
- ed*—in Pang. only: 1) obl. of def. and pers. arts., cf. pp. 343, 346 f. 2) obl. case sign of all other pronouns, cf. pp. 347, 356, 362, 373, 379, 386.
- en*₁—1) dem. root part., cf. p. 353. 2) probably elem. of Sulu inter. *hadi-en*, cf. p. 364.
- en*₂—cf. *uen*.
- et*—obl. and gen. of def. art. in Har., cf. pp. 342, 343.
- g*—pluralizing infix in Ilok. dems., cf. pp. 354, 356.
- go*—final elem. of Bag. dems., cf. p. 352.
- ha*—1) obl. of def. art. in Sulu, cf. p. 343. 2) initial elem. of indiv. inters. in Bis. and Sulu, cf. p. 364.
- hi*—in Sulu only, pers. art. and prefix of pers. inter., cf. pp. 346, 364.
- i*₁—1) lig., cf. p. 338. 2) elem. of lig. *ay, ya*, cf. p. 340. 3) final elem. in Pang. def. art., cf. p. 342, and perhaps in the forms *e, ne* of the def. and pers. art. in Nab. (cf. pp. 341, 343); in the forms of the numeral 'one' in Iban.; cf. p. 345; in *kay*, obl. of pers. art. in Tag. and Bis., in the inc. art. in Hil., cf. p. 348; in the dems., cf. p. 357; in the following inters., viz., Bik. and Samaro-Leytean pers. inter., cf. pp. 361, 364, Nab. *sepa-i, twa-i, nġaramto-i*; followed by *n* in the case sign *ken*, and perhaps in Pang. *nen* (cf. p. 346). 4) root part. in def. arts. *i, in, ing*, cf.

- p. 341; and pers. art. *i* and perhaps *hi*, cf. p. 346. 5) artic-
ular prefix or nom. case sign in Ilok. def. art., cf. p. 342;
in the forms of the numeral 'one,' cf. p. 345; in the dems.,
cf. p. 353; in the Bik. inter. stem *isay*, cf. p. 361, in
Iban. indiv. inter., cf. p. 363, and in Nab. inter. *sepa(y)* if
it is equivalent to **sa-i-pa(y)*, cf. p. 362; in the pers. prons.
of all persons, cf. pp. 371, 372, 376, 377 f., 383, 384.—The
root part. *ya*, *ia*, 3. sg. is perhaps a combination of *a* with
this prefix. 6) elem. of *in*₁.
- i*₂—prepositional prefix or obl. and gen. case sign in Ilok. def.
art. and dems., cf. pp. 344, 353 f., 356; and in prons. 2. and
3. pers., cf. pp. 377, 378, 383, 385: elem. of *in*₂.
- ia*—cf. *ya*.
- id*—elem. of dem. stem *idto*, cf. p. 354 f.
- in*₁—prefix in inters., Ceb. *k-in-sa*, Pamp. *insa* (*in* < *ing*), cf.
p. 361, and in the stem *inda*, 3. pl., cf. p. 382.
- in*₂—prefix in stems *inyo*, *indo*, 2. pl., cf. pp. 376, 377.
- in*₃—suffix of gen. and obl. forms, prons. 1. pers. (= *on*, *un*,
and *en*₂), cf. p. 372.
- in*₄—suffix of inters., cf. p. 363.—not identical with *in*₃.
- k*₁—nom. case sign in Ceb. dems. and pers. inter., cf. pp. 354, 361.
- k*₂—obl. case sign in inc. art., cf. p. 348; in Pamp. *king*, cf.
p. 343 f.; in Bik. *ki*, cf. p. 346; in Har. *k-agto*, cf. p. 355;
and in Pamp. *k-ako*, cf. p. 373.
- ka*₁—root part., 2. sg., cf. p. 375.
- ka*₂—1) obl. and gen. of def. art. in Bag. 2) obl. and gen. case
sign in def. art., cf. pp. 342-344; in pers. art., cf. p. 346;
in the inc. art., cf. p. 347 f.; in dems., cf. p. 353; in the
inters. in Tag., Hil., and Pamp., cf. p. 360, and probably
in Sam.-Ley. *kanay*, cf. p. 364; in the prons. of all three
persons, cf. pp. 371, 376 f., 383. 3) elem. of *ka(n)*, *kan*,
kay, *ken*, *kana*, *kani*, *kare* and *takka*.—The *ka* of the inc.
art. in Ceb. does not belong here, cf. *k*₂ and *ka*₁.
- ka*₃—elem. of the Mag. case signs *salka*, *seka*, *leka*, cf. p. 384,
and of *sika*.
- ka*₄—in Ceb., obl. of inc. art., and in Bik., obl. case sign of pl.
of pers. inter., cf. pp. 348, 361.
- kan*—1) obl. and gen. of the def. art., cf. p. 343 (bis); of pers.
art., cf. p. 346. 2) obl. and gen. case sign in pers. prons. in

- Har., Pamp., Sulu, and Bagobo, cf. pp. 371, 377, 383.
 3) in Nab. obl. *sikan*, cf. p. 346.
- ka(n)—obl. and gen. case sign, may be *ka* or *kan*, in the pers. prons. of all three persons, cf. pp. 371, 376 f., 383.
- kana—in Mag., gen. and obl. of def. art., and gen. case sign in prons. 3. sg., cf. pp. 343, 344, 383.
- kani—1) gen. and obl. of pers. art. in Mag., cf. p. 346. 2) obl. case sign in Ilok. *kaniak*, cf. p. 373. 3) elem. of case sign *kania* in Ilok. prons. 3. pers., cf. p. 384.
- kare—obl. case sign in Pamp. *kareno*, *karela*, cf. pp. 360, 386.
- kay—1) obl. of pers. art. cf. p. 346. 2) obl. and gen. case sign in Hil. pers. inter., cf. p. 360.
- ke₁—obl. case sign in Pamp. inter. *keno*, cf. p. 360.
- ke₂—nom. pron. 1. exc. pl. in Pamp., and Bag., cf. p. 369.
 —Pamp. *ke*, 1. sg. does not belong here, being a modification of *ko*, cf. p. 387.
- ken—in Ilok., obl. of pers. art., cf. p. 346, and obl. case sign of prons. 2. and 3. sg., cf. pp. 379, 384.
- key, xey—elem.-of numeral 'one' in Pang. and Nab. respectively, cf. p. 345.
- ki—in Bik., obl. of pers. art., cf. p. 346, and obl. case sign in pers. inter., cf. p. 361.—probably a modification of *ka₂*; not identical with Pang. *ki*, 2. pl., which seems to be a modification of *ka₁*, cf. p. 375.
- king—in Pamp., obl. of def. art. and obl. case sign of indiv. inter., cf. pp. 343 f., 361.
- ko—root part., 1. sg., cf. p. 368.—*ko*, 2. pl. does not belong here, being probably a modification of *ka₁*, cf. p. 375.
- kua—a noun meaning 'possession' used in Iban. in the obl. case sign *takkua*, and in Ilok. in the obl. of the prons. 3. sg. and pl., cf. p. 384.
- la—root part., 3. pl., cf. *da*.
- le, l—gen. case signs in Mag. pers. prons., cf. pp. 372, 373, 378; elem. of Mag. case sign *leka*, cf. p. 384, and of *sale*, *sal*.
- ma—dem. root part., cf. p. 353.
- mey—prefix of Ilok. numeral 'one,' cf. p. 345.
- mi—root part., 1. exc. pl., cf. p. 369.
- mo—root part., 2. sg., cf. p. 376.
- n₁—1) lig., cf. p. 338. 2) final elem. in def. art., cf. p. 341 ff.; in pers. art., cf. p. 346; in the dems., cf. p. 357; perhaps

in prons. 3. pl. in Mag. and Bag., cf. p. 382 (bis). 3) between prefix and root part. in the gen. of Pang. dems., cf. p. 356; in indiv. inters. in Pang. and Nab., cf. p. 364; in the elems. *an*₁, *in*₁, *un*₁. 4) in case signs *kan*, *ken*.

*n*₂—gen. case sign in inc. art., cf. p. 348; in dems., cf. pp. 353, 354; in Iban. indiv. inter., cf. p. 363; in prons. 1. and 3. pers., cf. pp. 371, 372, 383, 385; and in all probability in Bat. *nu*.

*na*₁—1) lig., cf. p. 338. 2) gen. of def. art., cf. p. 342. 3) root elem. of gen. forms *nan*, *nang*, *ka-nan*, and perhaps of *ne* (*na* + *i*) and *nen* (*na* + *i* + *n*) of def. and pers. arts., cf. pp. 343, 346; and of *nay* in Hil. inc. art., cf. p. 348, 4) final elem. of Tag. inc. art., cf. p. 347. 5) dem. root part., cf. p. 353, and root part., 3. sg., cf. p. 381. 6) gen. case sign of Pang. dems., cf. p. 356, and of Mag. prons., 1. and 3. pers., cf. pp. 373, 385. 7) final elem. of inter. *antuna*, cf. p. 362. 8) in *kana*.

*na*₂—in Bik. and Ceb. gen. and obl. of inc. art. and gen. case sign of pl. of pers. inter., cf. pp. 348, 361; and final elem. of inc. art., cf. p. 348.

ne—1) gen. of def. and pers. arts in Nab., cf. pp. 343, 346. 2) gen. of pron. 3 sg. in Pamp., cf. p. 381. 3) elem. of Pang. gen. of pers. art. *nen*, cf. p. 346.

neng—gen. case sign of pron. 2. sg. in Mag., cf. p. 378.

*ni*₁—1) gen. of pers. art.; cf. p. 346. 2) gen. case sign in inc. art., cf. p. 347 f.; in dems., cf. pp. 353, 354; in the pers. inter. in Tag., Sam.-Ley., Bik., Pamp., and Iban., cf. pp. 360, 361; in prons. 1. and 2. pers., cf. pp. 371, 372, 373, 377, 378. 3) obl. case sign in Ceb. dems., cf. p. 353, and in Iban. prons. 1. and 2. pers. 4) root element of gen. forms *nin*, *ning* of def. art., cf. p. 343. 5) final elem. in Hil. inc. art., cf. p. 348. 6) in *kani*.

*ni*₂—dem. root part., cf. p. 352, and perhaps root part. of Mag. *nin*, cf. p. 380.

*ni*₃—elem. of Iban. inters. = *no*₁, cf. pp. 360, 362.

n(i)—gen. case sign, may be *n*₁ or *ni*₁, in prons. 2. and 3. pers., cf. pp. 377, 378, 383, 385.

ning—in Pamp., gen. of def. art. and gen. case sign of indiv. inter., cf. pp. 340, 361.

no₁—inter. root part., cf. p. 359 f.

no₂—root part., 2. pers., cf. p. 376.—Pamp. gen. *no*, 3. sg., does not belong here, being a modification of *na*₁, cf. p. 387.

nu—in *nu*, *ka-nu* of def. art. in Bat. and Mag., cf. p. 342 ff.

ng—1) lig., cf. p. 338. 2) final elem. in forms of def. art., cf. p. 341 ff.; in case signs identical with def. art. in Pamp. indiv. inter., cf. p. 361. 3) in Mag. *ne-ng-ka*, cf. p. 377.

ng̃a—lig., cf. p. 338.

on, un—suffix of gen. and obl. forms, prons. 1 pers. (= *in*₂ and *en*₂), cf. pp. 372, 373.

pa₁—obl. of def. art. in Sulu, cf. p. 343.

pa₂—perhaps inter. root part. in Pang. and Nab. pers. inter., cf. p. 362.

ra—root part., 3. pl., cf. *da*.

ri—= *di* intervocalic.

ro—final elem. of numeral 'one' in Bik., cf. p. 345.

s₁—1) obl. case sign in the articular forms *sin*, *sun*, cf. pp. 343, 344, 346; in the signs of indef. obj. *sin*, *sing*, cf. p. 345; in the dems., cf. pp. 353, 354. 2) gen. and obl. case sign in prons. 1. and 2. pers. in Bik., cf. pp. 371, 372, 377, 378.

s₂—nom. case sign in Ceb. *sini*, cf. p. 354 (= *s*₁).

s₃—nom. case sign in inc. art. *sa* in Ceb, Bik., and *sanday* in Hil., cf. p. 348; in pers. prons. 3. pl., Bat. *sa* (?), Hil. and Har. *sanda*, Bik. *sinda*, cf. pp. 381, 383, 384; and in prons. 1. sg., cf. p. 371.

sa₁—1) obl. and gen. cf. def. art., cf. pp. 342, 343. 2) root elem. of forms *san*, *sang* of def. art., cf. p. 343. 3) obl. case sign in dems., cf. p. 354; in pers. inter. in Tag., Ceb., and Sam.-Ley., cf. p. 358; in pronouns of all three persons, cf. pp. 371, 373, 376 f., 378 f., 383, 385 f. 4) elem. of Mag. case sign *sale*, *sal*.

sa₂—1) root elem. in Pang. def. art., nom. sg. *say*. 2) nom. case sign in pl. of def. art., and in incl. art. in Pang., cf. pp. 342, 348; in dems. in Pang. and Nab., cf. pp. 356, 357; and perhaps in the Nab. pers. inter., cf. p. 362.

sa₃—root part. of numeral 'one,' cf. p. 345.

sa₄—inter. root part., cf. p. 361.

sa₅—1) nom. of inc. art. in Ceb. and Bik., and of pron. 3. pl. in Bat., cf. pp. 348, 381. 2) in Bik., nom. case sign of inc. art. and of pl. pers. inter., cf. pp. 348, 361. 3) final elem. of inc. art., cf. p. 348.

sa₆—nom. case sign in Ceb. *sa-ini*, cf. p. 354 (=sa₁).

sa₇—obl. of pron. 3. sg. in Iban., cf. p. 381.

sale, sal—case sign in Mag. pers. prons., cf. pp. 371 f., 377, 383.

san—in Sam.-Ley. only; 1) gen. of def. art. 2) obl. case sign in pers. inter. Cf. pp. 343, 364.

sang—in Hil. only; 1) gen. of def. art. 2) obl. case signs in prons. 3. sg. and pl. Cf. pp. 343, 385.

se₁—case sign in Mag. pers. prons., cf. references under *sale*.

se₂—initial elem. of pers. inter. in Nab., cf. p. 362.

si—1) nom. of pers. art., cf. p. 346. 2) nom. of def. art. and elem. of gen. *nin-si* in Bik., cf. pp. 341, 343. 3) nom. case sign in inc. art., cf. p. 348; in pers. inter. in Tag., Hil., Sam.-Ley., Bik., Pang., Ilok., Iban., and Sulu, cf. pp. 360, 361, 362, 364; in prons. of all three persons, cf. pp. 371, 372, 377, 378, 383, 384 f. 4) initial elem. of *sikan*, obl. of pers. art. in Nab., cf. p. 346. 5) final elem. in Hil. inc. art., cf. p. 348. 6) elem. of case sign *sika*, *sik*.

sin—1) gen. of def. art. in Sulu, cf. p. 343. 2) sign of indef. object, and obl. case sign of pers. inter. in Sam.-Ley., cf. pp. 345, 364.

sika, sik—nom. case sign in Pang. and Nab. prons. 1. and 3. pers., cf. pp. 371, 372, 383, 384.

so, su—1) nom. of def. art., cf. p. 341. 2) in form *tu* in Iban., as sign of indef. obj., cf. p. 345. 3) root part., 3. sg. in Ilok., cf. p. 381. 4) initial elem. of Nab. dems. *suta*, *sutan*, cf. p. 357. 5) nom. case sign in Pang. dems., cf. p. 356.

t—in Iban. only; equivalent to s₁, cf. p. 333: obl. case sign in Iban. dems. and indiv. inter., cf. pp. 354, 363.

ta₁—dem. root part., cf. p. 353, and elem. of Har. *tana*, cf. p. 381.

ta₂—root part., 1. sg. pl., and du., cf. pp. 368, 369 ff.

ta₃—in Iban. only; equivalent to sa₁, cf. p. 333. 1) obl. of def. and pers. arts., cf. pp. 343, 347. 2) elem. of obl. case signs *takka*, *takkua*.

ta₄—gen. and obl. of def. art. in Bag., cf. p. 343; probably not identical with ta₃.

takka—in Iban. only; obl. case sign in pl. of dems., cf. pp. 354, 356 f.

takkua—in Iban. only; 1) obl. of pers. art., cf. p. 347. 2) obl. case sign in pers. and inc. arts., cf. pp. 347, 348; in pl. of dems., cf. p. 356 f.; and in pers. inter., cf. p. 361.

ti—root part of def. art. in Ilok., cf. p. 341, and of Pamp. dem. *iti*, cf. p. 353.—Pang. *ti*, gen. 1. inc. pl., does not belong here, being probably a modification of *ta*, cf. p. 387.

to—1) dem. root part., cf. p. 352. 2) root part., 3. sg., in Pang. and Nab., cf. p. 381. 3) prefix of gen. sg. in Pang. dems., cf. p. 356. 4) elem. of inters. *anto*, *antuna*, cf. p. 362:

tu—sign of indef. obj. in Iban. = *so*, *su*, cf. p. 345.

u—1) root part. of def. art. in Bat. and perhaps in Nab. *sun*, cf. pp. 341, 342, 344. 2) articular elem. in Bis. numeral *usa*, cf. p. 345; in the dem. stems *uri*, *ura*, cf. p. 354; and perhaps in the Pang. inter. stem *opa*, cf. p. 362, and the Sulu inter. *uno*, cf. p. 361. 3) elem. of *un*.

uen—suffix of gen. and obl. forms, prons. 1. pers. (= *in*, and *on*, *un*), cf. p. 369.

un₁—articular elem. in Ceb. inter. *unsa*, cf. p. 361.

un₂—cf. *on*, *un*:

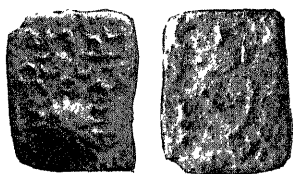
y—cf. *i*.

ya₁—1) lig. in Pang., cf. p. 338. 2) nom. of def. art. in Har., cf. p. 341. 3) dem. root part., cf. p. 352 f. 4) root part., 3. sg., cf. p. 380 f. 4) root elem. of Bag. def. art. *yan*, cf. p. 341, and in Iban. dem. suffix *ye*, cf. p. 352, 357. 5) final elem. of Ilok. *ania*, cf. p. 363.

ya₂—suffix of prons. 1. pers. in Bik., cf. pp. 368, 369, 371.

yo—root part., 2. pers., cf. p. 376.

I.



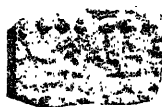
II.



III.



IV.



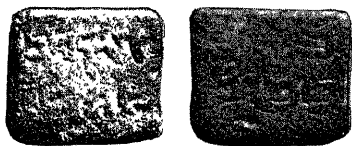
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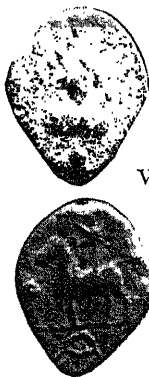
VI.



VII.



VIII.



Notes on some Palmyrene Tesserae.—By HANS H. SPOER,
Ph.D., Jerusalem, Syria.

For the opportunity to describe Nos. 1 and 2 I am indebted to Mr. Herbert Clark of Jerusalem. The remainder are in my own possession.

I. This tessera is a quadrangular oblong.

Obverse. Near the upper margin the inscription

בלתי

A well-known name. Below it is a sun in splendor, surrounded by circles and upturned crescents.

Reverse. The inscription runs the long way:

ירחי
כלבא

Yarḥai. Kalbā.

ירחי is a name of frequent occurrence. כלבא occurs here, so far as I can discover, for the first time in a Palmyrene inscription, although known as a Syriac name, ܕܠܒܐ, and as Hebrew, (כלב Num. 13^a) and Nabatean (Eut. 213^a).

II. This tessera is circular.

Obverse:

ית
בלת
ירחי

The name יתבלת should perhaps be read יתבלתי, for there seem to be traces of a *yod*. This name, as I believe, occurs here for the first time. For ירחי see No. 1.

Reverse. This shows the portico of a Greek temple. On either side is a palm-branch. The door is double, each leaf having two panels, the upper trellised, the lower decorated with an outline like a Latin M. Some traces of characters in the gable may be read as

אחי
my brother

In this case the tessera would commemorate the death of the brother of Yathbelit. However, the reading may also be

אתי.

III. This tessera is sexangular.

Obverse. A figure, reclining upon a funerary couch, dressed in tunic and mantle, the head covered with the modius. The bare right arm is stretched out, to receive a cup offered by a boy, who in the other hand (left) bears a pitcher. Above, a medallion, the bust of a man, in a beaded frame. (Cf. with tessera described by the author in this Journal, xxvi, p. 114.) The inscription is hardly legible:

* * * זביר

Reverse:

Three busts in a row, a fourth above, in the middle flanked on either side by a sun in splendor. Between the busts are small bosses.

IV. This tessera is a rectangular oblong, one side only having been used, the reverse being rough and shapeless.

Obverse. Between a row of bosses, above and below, the word

בלתי

Belti

A name which occurs also in I. To the left a rayed star.

Reverse. None.

V. Small, square and of a terra cotta color.

Obverse. A reclining figure on a funerary couch. Below:

יריעבל

Yer'ibēl

A name which is known; cf. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* I, p. 203, 206.

Reverse. A winged female genius with a trailing garment holding a chaplet in her extended left hand. On the left margin, מרי, known as a Nabatean proper name.

VI. Square. Figures as described by me in this Journal, xxvi, p. 115, Ill. 5.

Obverse.

חיון

Haiwān

The form of the last letter is unusual (but see Lidzbarski, *Schrifttafel* II, Rom. 1). The name is known as Nabatean n.p.r.m., خَيَوَان. The third letter is evidently not ר, so that we have not here the well known name חירן.

Reverse. Below the couch:

יעבלת

The last letter may possibly be א.

Three letters, barely legible, occur near the left margin:

(ב)ני

VII. A rectangular oblong inscribed on both sides. There are no figures.

Obverse. Much worn:

אגן כל
שמש

The third letter is partly erased. Unless the deity be referred to (Vog. No. 138), the name *Šemš* does not elsewhere occur alone, but only as compounded with other names.

Reverse.

ב [ני]
בזבול

Beni Bezbol

This is one of the many names compounded with בול, but I have not elsewhere met with this combination.

VIII. Of the form of an olive.

Obverse. In the center a bust, perhaps of a deity; below it a large boss, and above an ill-preserved inscription which I read

* * * בלצדק

Bēl-Sedeq

A name which occurs for the first time. Cf. the Hebrew מלכי ערק, Gen. 14¹⁸.

Reverse. The field is occupied by a horse, saddled, the saddle supporting a rod crowned by a five-pointed star. Before the horse is a boss, and beneath, a curious symbol which may be described as a crutch-head enclosed in an arch. May this be the fragment of the Swastika, which occurs not unfrequently in association with Apollo?¹ The star symbolises *Ištar*=Venus. The horse is sacred to the sun-god *Šemš*, 2 Kgs. 13¹¹. That this belief was held by the inhabitants of Palmyra seems to be borne out by another tessera in my possession, which bears on the one side the sun-god and upon the other a horsed chariot with its driver. Unfortunately the head of the man is worn away, and the tessera somewhat mutilated.

¹ Cf. Thomas Wilson: *The Swastika*, p. 852.

Three Objects in the Collection of Mr. Herbert Clark, of Jerusalem.—By GEORGE A. BARTON, Professor in Bryn Mawr College.

No. 1.

This little weight, in bronze, in the form of a turtle, came, Mr. Clark said, from Sebastiyeh. The drawing is about its actual size. It is inscribed with old Hebrew letters: חמש, evidently standing here for the "fifth" of a shekel. The weight is $2\frac{1}{2}$ grams, or 58 grains. At this rate the shekel of which it was a fraction consisted of 290 grains. A series of half-shekel weights found at Tell Zakariyeh weighed 157.5 gr., 146.7 gr. respectively (Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine 1898-1900*,



146 ff., and Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'arch. orient.*, 25 ff.), and one in my possession weighs 153.5 gr. (cf. JAOS. xxiv, 386 ff.). The limits of variation of the Hebrew shekel have never been determined, but it is evident that there was a shekel which approximated 300 grains. Mr. Clark's turtle weight is one-fifth of that. The turtle form of this weight is, so far as I know, unique.

No. 2.

This object, cut out of a blackish stone, bears on one side a face; on the other, pictures of two birds accompanied by certain marks.



The face, which the drawings exhibit in profile as well as in full view, has a physiognomy which resembles the faces on two Hittite monuments published by Messerschmidt,

Corpus Inscriptionum Hetiticarum, II, Tafel xxxiv, A and B. The resemblance to the profile of A is particularly striking. One of the bird figures resembles a figure on Tafel xlvi of the *Nachtrag* of Messerschmidt's work. I am of the opinion, therefore, that the object may be Hittite, and put forth the suggestion in hope that some one who has given more attention to the decipherment of Hittite may be able to throw further light on it. The object may have been used either as a weight or a seal.

No. 3.

This little stone duck, found at Sebastiyeh, was perhaps a weight, though this is by no means certain. It weighs 39 grains. If it were intended for a weight, it was probably an eighth of a



shekel, since eight times its weight would be 312 grs. Since the shekel varied so much, however, it may have been the seventh of a shekel, since 273 grs. is almost equal to 277.8 grs. —the smallest of the shekels found by Bliss at Tell Zakariyeh.

Studies of Sanskrit Words.—By EDWIN W. FAY, Professor
in the University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

I. Arvāñc-

IN his German etymological dictionary (English translation, s.v. Erde) Kluge, with some hesitation, connects Lat. arvum 'field, ploughed land' with Gr. ἔραζε 'earthwards.' In his English Etymology, s.v. earth, all this hesitation disappears, in view, I take it, of ON. jorvi 'ground,' not cited in the former work among the cognates. It is also to be noted that Vergil (Aen. 12,681) uses arvis as a virtual rendering of Gr. χαμᾶζε 'to the ground.'

There is a very obvious difficulty in the comparison of arvum with ἔραζε, viz., the vocalism. This difficulty may be surmounted, to the best of my knowledge, in but one way, by assuming a base ər- 'arare,' to which the European base ar- (from ər-) would belong. This solution I have offered in my essay entitled A Semantic Study of the Indo-Iranian Nasal Verbs (Am. Jr. Phil., 26,389). There is, it must be admitted, not very much to justify a base ər-. Skr. árū 'awl': Gr. ἀρίς 'auger' is dubious because of OHG. āla. Latin ōra 'edge, point,' is also ambiguous, and so is ər 'stachel-schwein,' which may well be for 'her', if Hesychian χήρ is genuine Greek, with a genuine χ. Not very conclusive is Skr. íriṇam (? from ər-) "brüchiges, unfruchtbares land." A vague connection with the root might be made out for Gr. ἔριφος 'kid' (if = "pricket"): Lat. aries 'ram' (cf. Umbr. erietu): Lith. éras (with ē) 'lamb.' But in any case, the vowel relations of arvum and ἔραζε are no harder to admit than those of Lat. aries: Umbr. erietu.

As a means of testing the correlation of arvum with ἔραζε I have made a study of the Sanskrit word arvāñc-, as it appears in the Ríg-Veda, and I attach some importance to the isolation of its formation, with the adverbial suffix -añc-, as compared with the isolated Greek word ἔραζε. I conclude from the data that follow that arvāñc- and the adverb arvák do mean "earthward(s)."

1. The Petersburg Lexica define our word as follows: a) herwaerts kommend, hergekehrt, zugekehrt, entgegen-kom-mend: b) diesseitig (only in grammatical and lexicographical sources, save the adverb *arvák*, which has literary attestation): c) unterhalb befindlich, nach unten gerichtet: d) in der nähe von (advb. only). The earliest citations for the sense c) are from AV. and ŚB., and consist of passages in which *arvāñc-* is contrasted with *ūrdhvás*. This contrast I would, however, see in RV. vii. 78. 1bc (B₂)¹:

ūrdhvā asyā añjāyo ví śrayante,

ūso arvācā bṛhatā ráthena—vāmám asmábhyam vaksī,

“On high her rays are spreading abroad,

<Now> Uṣas earthward in thy mighty car wealth to us
fetch.”

This hymn may belong to a late middle period of RV. tradi-tion as Arnold believes (see the table in PAOS. xviii. 353, and KZ. xxxiv. 341), but the chronology of the Vedic hymns can hardly tell against a word proved to be proethnic; and a hymn of the earliest period, if liable to popular rather than hieratic use, may have retained in all its working-over very early linguistic material (cf. Bloomfield, Proceedings, xxi. 41 ff. *pace* Arnold, *ibid.* xxii. 309 ff.).

2. Contexts are not wanting in RV. where a special sense seems warranted for *arvāñc-*. Thus in i. 92. 16 (A),

—vartír asmád² á . . . arvág rátham . ní yachatam

“unto our house—earthward—your chariot bring”,

arvág might well be taken as a mere adverbial repetition of *vartís*, and passages are still to be pointed out in which *arvák* seems to mean “ad nostrum fundum.” In some of these contexts previous translators have recognized the sense I would give to *arvāñc-*, and Sāyana glosses *arvák* in v. 45. 10 (see 5 below) by *avāñmukhāḥ* ‘face-downwards.’

¹ After each hymn I put Arnold's indication of its age: A, archaic; B₁, early middle period: B₂, late middle period: C₁, early late period: C₂, later late period.

² This takes *asmád* as a poss. adj. = ‘nostrum’, identical with the compounding stem *asmad*.

viii. 14. 8 (B₂):

úd gá ājad āngirobhya āviṣ kṛvān gúhā satīh
arvāñcam nunude valām,

"Showing the hidden, he drove forth the cows for the
Aṅgirasas,

And Vala he cast headlong down" (so Griffith).

That arvāñcam nunude means 'struck to the ground' = ('to his feet,' cf. RV. i. 32. 8, B₂) seems to me most probable. Note the combination of the root nud with ūrdhvām 'upwards' in i. 85. 10 (B₂); i. 88. 4 (A).

Wilson, cited by Griffith, paraphrased x. 71. 9a (C₁),

imé yé nārvāñ ná parás¹ cāranti,

by "Those who do not walk (with the Brahmins) in this
lower world, nor (with the gods) in the upper world."

3. In the following passages arvāñc- is combined with the root sad 'to sit.'

iii. 4. 8cd (B₂): sárasvatī sárasvatébbhir ārvāk

. . . barhīr édām sadantu,

"May Sarasvati and her confluent rivers earthward
(come) . . . and sit down upon this grass."

x. 15. 4a (C₁): bārhiṣadaḥ pitara ūty ārvág,

"Grass-sitting Manes come earthward to our aid (or
with aid)."

4. In the following the contrast of earth and heaven is clear.

i. 45.10ab (A): arvāñcam dāīvyam jānam āgne yákṣva,

"Fetch-by-sacrifice to earth the celestial kind, O Agni."

v. 83. 6cd (C₁) arvāñ eténa stanayitnúnéhy

apó nisiñcānn āsuraḥ pitā nah.

"Earthward in this thunder come,
dripping water, god our father."

vi. 19. 9cd (B₂): á viśvato abhí sám etv arvāñ

indra dyumnám svārvad dhehy asmé,

"From every side let him come earthward:

Indra, bestow upon us heavenly glory."

¹ On parás, see 6 below.

vii. 83. 3 (B₂): sām bhūmyā ántā dhvasirá adrkṣata
 índrāvaruṇā diví ghóṣa áruhat
 ásthur jánānām úpa mām árātayo
 arvág ávasā havanaśrutā gatam.

“The earth-ends were seen dust-bewhirled;
 Indra-Varuna, my cry mounted to heaven:
 My enemies among the peoples encompassed me:
 Earthward with help, hearing my cry, ye came.”

x. 83. 6a-c (C₁): úpa méhy arvāñ—mán̄yo vajrinn-
 “Come earthward to me, lightning wielder, Manyu.”

5. In the large majority of instances arvāñc- is of vague significance. The gods are called upon to come and bless the worshipper. Obviously “come hither” makes a satisfying rendering for arvāñ yāhi, but “come down, come earthward” were equally satisfying. Arguing from the antiquity of the agricultural rites of worship, attested for instance at Rome in the ritual of the Fratres Arvales, and mindful of the etymological sense of ‘ploughland’ found in arvum, one might feel disposed to make something of

iv. 57. 6ab (C₁): arvācī subhage bhava sīte vándāmahe
 tvā,

“Earthward, gracious one, turn thou, Furrow, we greet thee.”

Still, as so many other deities are summoned earthward, we can hardly lay much weight on the summoning of the “Furrow” earthward.

The following passages, though vague, have seemed, for one reason or another,¹ worthy of consideration.

ii. 37. 5ab (B₂): arvāñcam adyā yayyām nṛvāhaṇam
 rátham yuñjāthām ihā vām vimócanam.

“To come earthward to-day your man-bearing
 Car hitch up; here is your unhitching.”

Here arvāñcam is not attributive, but predicative, a sort of factitive to yuñjāthām; unless construed closely with yayyām.

¹ Chiefly because they show arvāñc- in combination, not directly with a verb of motion, but with one equal, by a sort of zeugma, to a verb of motion.

- iv. 4. 8a (B₂): árcāmi te sumatīm ghóṣy arvāk,
 "I sing thy grace; sound it <back> to earth."
- v. 45. 10cd (B₁): udnā ná nāvam anayanta dhírū
 āsr̥ṇvatīr āpo arvāḡ¹ atisthan,
 "Like a ship in water the wise launched him (the sun);
 The hearkening floods <of light descended> to earth
 and stood <there>."
- vii. 18. 3c (B₂): arvācī te pathyā rāyā etu,
 "Earthward (? ad fundum nostrum) come thy path of
 wealth, <Indra>."
- vii. 28. 1b (A): arvāñcas te hārayaḥ santu yuktāḥ,
 "Earthward be thy steeds yoked, <Indra>."
- viii. 61 (50). 1 (A): ubháyaṁ śr̥ṇāvac ca na índro arvāḡ
 idāṁ vācaḥ
 satrūcyā maghāvā sómapītaye dhiyā śáviṣṭha ā gamat.
 "Let Indra hearken earthward to this our double song;
 <Moved> by our unanimous prayer, let Maghavan, the
 mighty, come hither to drink soma."
- x. 89. 5d (B₂): nārvāḡ índraṁ pratimānāni debhuḥ,
 "Nor have any counterfeits decoyed Indra to earth."
- x. 89. 16d (B₂): tīró víśvāñ ārcato yāhy arvān,
 "Past all (other) praisers (?), come down to earth"
 (ad fundum nostrum: cf. vii. 18. 3, and paragraph
 2, above).
- x. 129. 6c (C₂): arvāḡ devā asyā visárjanena.
 "The gods are later than this world's production"
 (Griffith).

No translation of this passage is likely to win conviction, even from its proposer, but I venture on

"<There came> gods to earth at its creation."

6. I have reserved two passages for separate treatment.

- i. 164. 19ab (C₁): yé arvāñcas tāñ u párāca āhur
 yé párāñcas tāñ u arvāca āhur,

¹ Note the gloss of Sāyaṇa, mentioned above at the beginning of 2.

“The down <on the earth> they call the up <in the sky>;
The up <in the sky> they call the down <on the earth>.”

In this stanza we have some astronomical or cosmogonic riddle, and a real solution I do not pretend to offer,¹ but it is probable that párañc- here repeats pára- in stanzas 17 and 18, where pára-² connotes ‘heavenly,’ as in the same stanzas ávara-, echoed in stanza 19 by arvāñc-, connotes ‘earthly.’ This interpretation shows points of agreement with Wilson’s paraphrase of x. 71. 9a (see in 2 above).

viii. 8. 23 (A): trīṇi padāny aśvīnor āvīḥ sānti gúhā
parāḥ
kaṁ rtāsya pātmabhir arvāg jivébhyas pári,

“The three regions of the Ásvins are revealed
<which were> in hiding in-the-far-heaven;
The two seers of righteousness wing-their-way earthward
unto the living.”

The translation of parāḥ by “in-the-far-heaven” (= German “jenseits”), rather than by “before,” seems to me beyond question; and this would seem to fasten the sense of “earthward” upon arvāg.

After the above tests of the special applicability of the rendering “earthward,” it seems not amiss to regard Skr. arvāñc- as a cognate of Gr. ἄραξ, Lat. arvis (in Aeneid 12. 681).

Postscript.

The editors have asked me to add, for completeness’ sake, a word on (1) arvācīnā- (arvācīna-) and (2) arvāvāt-. It is habitual to render (1)—construed like Lat. sublimis (Gildersleeve-Lodge’s Gram. §325. 6)—by ‘hitherward’ (= ‘to the worshipper, to me’), rather than by ‘earthward,’ and in all the usage of the word (fifteen cases) there is nothing, as Professor Hopkins observes, to prove the inadequacy of the usual rendering. The

¹ But we may note the Vergilian usage, Aen. 6. 481, of superi = ‘qui in terra (supra terram) sunt,’ for the usual superi = ‘caelestes.’

² See Grassmann’s Lexicon, s.vv. pára-, paramā-.

one difficult use is RV. vi. 25. 3 (A, in Arnold's system of dates):

indra jāmāya utā yé 'jāmāyo
'rvācīnāso vanúšo yuyujré
tvām eṣāṃ vithurá śāvūṃsi
jahí vṛṣṇyāni kṛṇuhí pārācaḥ,

as to which Grassmann remarks in his Lexicon that here alone arvācīná- is used of other than friendly approach. But there need be no question of approach at all, for we may well take jāmāyaḥ and ájāmayaḥ as adjectives and arvācīnāsaḥ as a substantive, in formation something like arvales, but in sense like vicini (finitumi) or Landsleute. The stanza does not lose in point thereby:

Indra, our kindred and non-kindred
Neighbours, that as enemies have united,—
Do thou in sunder their mightiness
Rive, their prowess; make them as strangers (=drive them afar).

In the study of arvāvát 'proximity,' the salient fact is that it is never used save as an antonym of parāvát 'distance;' but, after a consideration of all the examples in RV., I feel free to say that 'distance' is not the only signification of parāvát (and its kin). Grassmann's Lexicon s.vv. pára- paramá-, suggests 'heaven' as a rendering, and renders parástāt by 'oberhalb'; while both Grassmann and the larger Petersburg Lexicon interpret tistrás parāvátāḥ by 'the three regions' (sky, air, and earth).

The connotation of 'sky' or 'air' ('aloft, on high') seems to me probable—what connotation is mathematically demonstrable?—for this group in the following instances. In iv. 26. 6 (B2) the falcon brings the soma-stalk from the parāvát (a-b), having taken it divó amúṣmād úttarāt 'from yon remote sky' (d), and pādas ab, without the interpretative clause d, recur in substance in x. 144. 4 (A). In iv. 21. 3 (A), Indra is besought to come from (1) divāḥ 'the sky,' (2) pṛthivyāḥ 'the land,' (3) samudrād . . . pūrīṣāt 'the sea-of-air,—i. e., from the three regions already mentioned: the stanza then adds (4) svāṇarāt 'from the light-realm' and (5) parāvátō vā śādanād ṛtāśya; I interpret (4) as a substantial repetition of (1) and in (5) I take śādanād ṛtāśya, which Sāyaṇa glosses by meghalokāt 'from the cloud-space,' as a synonymous (explanatory) apposition with

parāvataḥ (which Ludwig renders by an adjective): thus (5) = 'from parāvát, the cloud-space.' In vi. 8. 4 (B₂) Mātariśvan is said to have brought Agni down from (his hiding place in) parāvát, while in x. 187. 5 (B₂) Agni's birthplace is given as pārē rájasah 'in the far-off of the air.' In v. 53. 8 the Áśvins are summoned from the sky (diváh), the air (antárikṣāt), and from here (amát), and besought not to remain afar, parāvataḥ 'from (=in) the parāvát. Further, note viii. 12. 17 (A):

yád vā śakra parāvāti samudré ádhi mándase
asmákam ít suté raṇā sám índubhiḥ,

"Whether, O Might, thou joyest in parāvát in the sea
<of air> [So Griffith supplies]
Delight in our pressing," etc.

In addition to these examples of the connotation 'sky' (air) for parāvát (pāram), we may note the contrasting pair ávara-lower (and) paramá- 'highest,' especially in i. 164. 17 (C₁) aváh páreṇa pará enā 'vareṇa'. In the light of such instances we may note that in the remote Celtic branch Ir. eross, which Stokes (Fick's Woert. II. p. 37) gives as a cognate of Skr. pará-, means 'height,' which would tend to vindicate the sense of 'high' for proethnic pero-.

If parāvát means 'sky,' what of its antonym arvāvát? Note viii. 13. 15 (A):

yác chakrási parāvāti yád arvāvāti vṛtrahan
yád vā samudré ándhaso 'vitéd asi,

"Whether, O Might, thou art in parāvát, or in arvāvát,
Vṛtra- slayer,
Or else in the sea <of air>, thou art the protector of the
Soma-stalk."

If we are right in taking samudré of the 'air,' then parāvāti and arvāvāti are the sky and earth, respectively.¹

¹ [Observe, however, that the same words are repeated in viii. 97 (86). 4, but filled out (after the invitation is given) in 5 as follows: yád vāsi rocané diváh samudrásyā' dhi viṣṭápi, yát pāṛthive sádane vṛtrahantama yád antárikṣa ā gāhi, "or if thou art in the sky's brightness, (or) on the sea's expanse, (or) if on earth's seat, (or) if in the interspace (air), do thou come hither," where 'sea' is distinct from air, and earth and sky are separately contrasted. Ed.]

The semantic problem may be stated as follows: *pará-* meant (1) 'distant, far' but came, by a connotation which may have been proethnic, to mean (2) 'high, in the sky;' its antonym, *arvāñc-*, meant (1) 'earthwards, towards (on) the ground' but developed, under the influence of *pará* (1), the meaning (2) 'near.'

The following illustration furnishes an approximate parallel. In Latin, *domi* (*domum*) and *apud me* (*ad me*) became, in a restricted sense, synonymous: 'at (to) my house.' These synonyms must have played a rôle in the upgrowth of *domo doctus* for *ā me doctus* and of *domi habeo aliquid* for *mihi est aliquid* (cf. Lorenz ad Mil. Glor. 194), wherein the sense of '*domus*' has nearly vanished. Similar is the generalisation of *θύραζε* 'out,' French *fors / hors* ('Lat. *foris*), from which the sense of 'door' has vanished, almost or wholly; and in French *chez* the sense of Lat. *casa* is all but gone; and we no longer think of a hill when we say down or adown. In general, on such prepositional words (direction adverbs) derived from nouns, consult Steinthal-Misteli, *Abriss der Sprachwissenschaft*,² II, §4, p. 11 ff., noting especially Skr. *pārśvam pārśve-* 'adversus, ad, apud, prope.'

To say briefly what I think of the morphology of the group under discussion, I explain *arvāñc* as a terminal accusative **arvam* (or plur. **arvān*) + a deictic particle **-c(a)*, comparable with Gr. *-δε*; **-c(a)* may be compared with Lat. *-ce*, and if it belongs to a different guttural series, the reason is that **arvañs-* has been attracted into a group with the other direction adverbs in *-āñc-*. Alongside of *arvācīnā* RV. exhibits a pretty large group of which *prācīnā* and *pratīcīnā* may be taken as representatives; *arvāvāt* is not to be explained as from *arvāñc*, but merely as a counterpart of *parāvāt*.

2. *Nāhus-*

In RV. viii. 8. 23 (above), the words *trīṇi padāni* call for interpretation: what are the three *padas*? Sāyaṇa interpreted them as the three wheels of the *Aśvins'* chariot. Griffith says heaven, firmament, earth. But the hymn itself mentions three places from which the *Aśvins* come, viz., *nāhus-* (stz. 3), *antārikṣa-* (3, 4), *dyāús* (4, 7). *Dyāús* we know and *antārikṣa-* we seem to know, but what is *nāhus*? I believe *nāhus* to be 'the night,'

cf. Gr. *νύχα* · *νύκτωρ*, *ἐννυχος*. This interpretation yields good results when applied to

- vii. 6. 5bcd (B₂): *yó* aryápatnīr uśásas cakāra
 sā nirúdhya náhuso yahvó agnīr
vísas cakre balihṛtaḥ sáhobhih,
 “Agni made the dawns noble-spoused,
 Driving off the nights, strong Agni
 Made the peoples tribute-bringers by his might.”

Here note the opposition of *uśásas* and *náhusas*.

The base to which I ascribe Gr. *νύχα* and *náhus* is s)nō(w)-gh-, alternating with s)nē(y)-gh-, and refer for my conception of the phonetic problems involved to Am. Jr. Phil. xxv. 371 ff. 379 ff. Stripped of “root-determinatives,” the base in simpler form is s)nē(y)-/s)nō(w)-, and meant “to wrap,” cf. Skr. *snāyati* ‘wraps,’ Lat. *nuit* glossed by ‘operuit, texit.’ The word *náhus* belongs more closely with *náhyati* ‘binds, wraps,’ while Gr. *νύχα* has the vowel color of *nuit*. Lat. *niger* ‘black’ and noegeum ‘amiculi genus’ attest the -ēy- diphthong. In all this it has been assumed that the night was the “binder” or “wrapper up” of the day (cf. Am. Jr. Phil. xxv. 386, note 2). The base for “snow,” with a different final guttural, s)nē(y)-gwh-, has a cognate meaning, snow being conceivable as that which “wraps” (covers) the earth: cf. also Avest. *vafra-*: ‘snow’: the root *vap-* “to strew, weave.”

3. *vedhás*, ‘worshipper, pious; faithful, true.’

Uhlenbeck in his etymological lexicon groups together *vidátham* (with deaspiration) ‘congregation, assembly,’ *vidhāti* ‘worships, honors, dedicates (to a god),’ and *vedhás* as defined above. For none of these words does he suggest further cognates, not even Avestan ones.

In view of the uncertainty in some few Sanskrit words, even the oldest (cf. Whitney, *Verb Roots*, sub the root *vṛh*, and Wackernagel, *Altind. Gram.*, § 161), between *b* and *v*, we may provisionally etymologize on our words as though they began with *b*. Then if we set down **bedhás*- ‘fidus, pious,’ it becomes immediately apparent that **bedhás* and *fidus* are etymological cognates, which differ only in their stems, the former being an -es-/os- stem, the latter an -e-/o- stem. However, it must be observed that in AV. xix. 3. 4 the stem *védha* is found in a

variant reading for védya, while in old Latin fidusta (from *fidus-to-) occurs, defined by Paulus as "a fide denominata, eaque maximae fidei erant," a definition that would lead us to infer an Italic stem *fidus-: cf. also foedus and confoedusti.

The derivation of vedhás here suggested also accounts for vidátham, if etymologically defined by "federation." But vidhāti presents a harder problem. It would not be very well defined by $\pi\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota$, but is fairly well matched by Germ. betet, beten and bitten, being, according to many,¹ cognate with $\pi\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota$, fidit. But if Kern is right in referring these German words to Skr. bádhathe 'premit' (cf. the citation of the footnote), then it might be necessary provisionally to separate vidhāti from vedhás, and rather put it in a group with bádhathe. I have tried, however, in Am. Jr. Phil. xxvi. 179 ff., to reunite $\pi\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota$ and bádhathe under the still remoter base bhē(y)-d(h) 'to split > <splice.' The semantic questions involved will now justify, I hope, a somewhat more detailed treatment, apropos of the problem presented by vedhás for bedhás.

Beside the root bheidh 'to convince'—though this meaning is far from being primitive—stands a root bheid 'to split.' My thesis is that these roots were originally but one. The variation of aspirate and sonant at the end of roots with nasal infixes is far too common a phenomenon to be called in question, and the nasal inflexion of Lat. findit 'splits,' Skr. bhinátti, bhindánti² fulfils the conditions. Further, a nasal inflexion of bheidh seems attested by Alb. bint 'I persuade,' if they are right who connect it with Gr. $\pi\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota$.³

If thus on the formal side we may regard bheidh-/ bheid as one root, it remains to bring in accord the figurative meaning of bheidh 'to convince' and the direct sense 'to split' attested for

¹ E. g., Osthoff, cited in Uhlenbeck's got. Woert, s. v. bidjan; Brugmann, *Grundr.* i. § 589; Kluge, *Etym. Woert. s.vv.*; Skeat's *Concise Etym. Dict.*, s.v. bid.

² It is entirely within the bounds of probability that bheid- 'to split' has been affected by a group-association with the root of Lat. scindit, Skr. chinátti, chindánti.

³ So, among others, Brugmann, in his *Grundriss*, and Prellwitz, *Woert.*, s.v. $\pi\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota$. G. Meyer, *Alban. Woert.*, s.v. bint, derives from bhendh, which is, in my opinion, itself but a derivative of bhē(y)dh-; see Am. Jr. Phil. xxvi. 181.

bheid-.¹ If we define Lat. *fidus* by 'open(ed), frank, sincere, loyal' we see how it may be cognate with *findit* 'splits, opens.' Similarly we may define the Homeric idiom *πείθειν φρένας* (*θυμόν*) *τινί* (*τινός*) by 'to open one's mind, convince,' comparing our own idiom "to open one's eyes;" *fidit* and *πέποιθε* may be rendered by 'opens (one's own heart) to (another), trusts.' The concrete sense of 'splits' is perhaps retained in *Iliad* 15, 26 *πεπιθοῦσα θυέλλας*, which may be defined by 'findens procellas.' The locution *μισθὲς πείθειν* 'to bribe' is very like the Sanskrit compound *dāna-bhinnas* 'bestochen, bribed.'

To Lat. *foedus* I assign a semantic development somewhat different from that exhibited by *fidus* 'true.' In Sanskrit the *ptc.* *bhinnás* means not only 'split, opened,' but is defined in the lexicon of Boehtlingk by "verbunden mit, hängend-, haftend an;" cf. *vi-bhinnás* "unzertrennlich verbunden mit," *sambhinatti* "zusammen bringt, in Berührung bringt, verbindet, vermengt, sich zu jemandem gesellt," *bhiduras* "in nahe Berührung tretend—sich vermengend, sich vermischend mit," *bhittís* "a woven mat" (: Lat. *fides* 'strings, a lyre'). With these words Lat. *foedus* 'truce, league, compact' accords in definition and they show that in Sanskrit derivatives, at least, the root *bhid-* has developed the connotation 'to join.' Similar is Eng. *splices* 'joins (split rope-ends)', whose derivation from *splits* is clear; also, in the language of weavers and rope-makers, Germ. *scheren* 'to cut, shear' has acquired the sense of 'spannen;' cf. also Eng. *pieces* 'to join <pieces> together.' The semantic opposition of "to split" and "to join" is only apparent, and comparable with the conflict found in the pair sticks 'stecht' and sticks 'steckt' (cf. also stitches 'stecht, stickt;' and see Kluge's *Woert.* s.v. *stechen*).

But in demonstrating a root *bheid(h)* 'to split,' with the connotation 'to join,' the last word has not yet been said for *foedus* 'truce.' Touching *foedus*, I think of some primitive form of contract by indenture, some breaking of a *tessera hospitalis*, in which the breaking of the token was the chief symbolic act of

¹ I share Uhlenbeck's doubts whether Goth. *beidan* can be directly connected with Lat. *fidit* 'trusts.' But in view of MHG. *stecken* 'to remain fast, stick, bide' we may connect *beidan*, Eng. *bide* directly with *bheid(h)* to split, pierce.

² Cf. Fr. *résoudre* 'to persuade,' from Lat. *resolvere* 'to open up' (?).

the treaty-making. Thus do we best account for the idiom *ῥρκια πιστὰ ταμεῖν* 'foedus ferire, icere, percutere,' which lends itself to the interpretation "symbola <pactionis> fissifacere" rather than to "foederis causa <hostiam> sacrificare." No doubt, however, the cutting up of the animal sacrificed for distribution among the compact-makers was a part of the ceremonial (cf. Aristophanes, *Lysis*, 192; ? Vergil, *Aen.* 8. 641).

Returning now to *vedhás* 'fidus,' I conjecture that its orthography with *v* for *b* was primarily due to the association of forms of *b(h)eidh* 'to split, pierce' (cf. Goth. *beidan*, Eng. *bide*, Gr. *πεπιθοῖσα* as explained above) with forms of the Sanskrit root *vyadh* *vidh* 'to pierce' (cf. Lat. *di-vidit*); or, to put it concretely, I conjecture that **bedhás* 'apertus, aperto <pectore>,' 'fidus' has been assimilated to *viddhás* 'di-visus, apertus,' though it is of course not to be denied that *vedhás*, defined by 'apertus, etc.' is susceptible to immediate derivation from *vidh-yati* 'peirces.'

4. *vádhri*.

The close kinship of *vádhri* and its Greek synonym *ἰθρῖς* 'τομίας, castratus' is not to be called in question, despite their phonetic divergence. The phonetic difficulty is resolved by deriving *vádhri* from the Sk. root *vadh* 'to beat, slay,' and *ἰθρῖς* from a base *widh-*, found in Skr. *vidhyati* 'pierces,' Lat. *di-vidit* 'divides,' and further attested, I believe, in *ισθμός* (from **widh-tmos*, with *-tmos* from the root *tem*), '(mare) dividens.' The parallelism of *vádhri* (**wédhri*) and *ἰθρῖς* (*wídhri*) throws light on the Skr. root *vyadh* (not attested in RV.), which I take to be a blend of the root *vidh* (with grade forms in *vedh*) and the root *vadh*.

5. *sprśāti* 'touches, grasps, feels, besprinkles.'

Uhlenbeck (ai. Woert. s.v.) finds no sure cognates for *sprśāti*, but mentions the possibility that Goth. *faurhts* 'fearful' (without *s-*) is identical with the ptc. *sprštá* 'touched, stirred, moved.' [Professor Hopkins calls my attention to the fact that *sprštá* appears as *prštá* in RV. i. 98. 2.] I doubt not, however, that

¹ On the close correspondence of Latin and Sanskrit in parts of their vocabulary, see Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, 125, ff.

Gr. *σπαράσσει* 'tears, rends, mangles; mulcat' is cognate with *sprśāti* 'touches; mulcet;' cf. Lat. *tangit* 'mulcet, mulcat.' Goth. *faurhts* leans to the violent sense of 'mulcat;' as a semantic parallel we may compare Gr. *ἐκπλαγείς* <'terror-> smitten.'

Wharton (*Etyma Latina*) sets down *spureus* as a cognate of *sprśāti*, and I believe this to be correct. We may again illustrate by derivatives of *tangit*, viz., *contaminat*, *contingit* 'defiles,' *contactus* 'defiled; cf. also *tangit* 'smears.' The German word *ferch* 'dung' (without *s-*) perhaps belongs more closely with *spureus*. With these we might group Lat. *porcus*, supposing the pig to have been named (1) 'the dirty creature,' and not (2) 'the rooter' (*porca* 'furrow'). Still another possibility for *porcus* is (3) 'spotted, dark,' cf. Skr. *prśni* 'spotted, a cow,' Gr. *πέρκος*, *πέρκνός* ('spotted'), dark,' *πέρκη* 'perch' (a dark or spotted fish, cf. our fish-name of "spot"). There is no inconsistency between (1) and (3), 'dirty' and 'spotted' being closely related notions, as Lat. *maculosus*, e. g., shows. And if *porcus* meant 'rooter' (2), it may still be a cognate of *σπαράσσει* 'tears, rends.' I see no reason to doubt, either, that *prśaní*, defined by Boehtlingk as "sich anschmiegend, zärtlich" (*mulcens*) belongs with *sprśāti* (cf. also Whitney, *Roots, Verb-Forms*, etc, etc., sub *prś*), cf. *upa-sprśāti* "zärtlich berührt, liebkost." With this group we may classify the cognates of Lat. *procus* 'suitor,' *precatur* 'entreats,' *presses* (a suit, request); *laccessit*, *flagitat*.'

6. *khudāti* 'futuít.'

Uhlenbeck defines *khudāti* by "stösst hinein (*kaprthám*, *sapam*), and (s)*khidāti* by "reisst, stösst, drückt." No cognate of *khudāti* seems to have been pointed out.² If the long diphthong gradation *-ē(y)-/-ō(w)*, already referred to in this paper, is correctly assumed, then *khudāti* and *khidāti* go back to a common root (see *Am. Jr. Phil.* xxvi. 396). So far as signification goes, *khudāti* would seem but a specialization of *khidāti*, and we might explain its vocalism as something individual, due, to use the metaphor introduced by Bloomfield (*IF.* iv. 78), to a blend of *khidāti* and its synonym *tudāti* 'stösst, sticht, stachelt.'

¹ Eng. *entreats* derives from Lat. *tractat* 'handles;' cf. further, Goth. *biddjan*: Skr. *bádhathe* 'premit' (*supra*, p. 412).

² But now cf. Prellwitz, *Woert.* ² s.v. *κύσθος*; I would derive *κύσθος* from *khudhtos*, Lat. *cunus* from *khudhnos* or *khudnos*: base *khud(h)*.

But the infection of *khidāti* by *tudāti* may as well have begun in the primitive period as in the separate life of Sanskrit. Uhlenbeck remarks s. v. *khidāti*, "verwantschaft mit *chinātti* is nicht undenkbar." In Latin both (per-)scindere (= *chinātti*) and per-tundere occur in the special sense of *khudāti*,¹ the former in Priap. 15. 5, 54, 77. 13, and the latter in Catullus 32. 11. If scindit and tundit thus cross meanings in Latin, we have some confirmation of the supposed association of ideas that changed *khidāti* to *khudāti* under the influence of *tudāti*.

If Lat. *cūdit* 'strikes, beats' corresponds with Skr. *khudāti* 'stösst hinein,' the recognition of the Italic cognate would forbid us to regard *khudāti* as *khidāti* inflected by *tudāti*. It would not forbid us to suspect that primitive *khudāti* is *khidēti*, with the vowel color of *tudēti*, though we should be bound to admit three roots meaning 'to strike, thrust, pierce, split,' whose weakest forms are; 1) (s)khid², 2) (s)khud, 3) (s)tud, (cf. Uhlenbeck, *op. cit.*, s. v., *tomáras*). The derivation of (2) from (1), inflected in its vowel color by (3), is purely glottogonic; not in any case a phonetic question, but rather a psychological question. Provisionally, leaving out the possibility that *khudāti* is cognate with Lat. *cūdit* (: Germ. *hauen*, cf. Brugmann, *Grund.* 1^a § 639), we may include *khudāti* / *khidāti* among cases like those pointed out by Bloomfield in the essay referred to. Ultimately, perhaps, a psychological treatment of the vowel alternation in the spirit of Wundt's *Die Sprache* (I¹, p. 335 ff.) may be arrived at.

7. Skr. *ámbaram*.

Uhlenbeck asserts that no satisfactory explanation has been advanced for *ámbaram*, but it seems to me that an easy one lies at hand. The meanings we have to account for are (1) *ambitus*, *vicinia*, (2) *amictus*. It is phonetically allowable to connect *amb-* with *ἀμφί*, Lat. *ambi-*, cf. Skr. *ámbu* / *ámbhas* 'water' for the variation *b* / *bh* after nasals. By this explanation *ámbaram* (subst.) is morphologically comparable with *ávaram*

¹ Cf. Gr. *κρούει*, which occurs in the same special sense.

² Strong form (s)khēyd (: Lith. *skėdziu*, Lat. *caedit*, see Hirt, *Ablaut.* 67) : cf. *Amphitruo*, 159, quasi *incudem caedant*, where *incudem caedant* partakes of the nature of the etymological figure, as does the commoner locution *incudem tundere*.

‘lower,’ *āpara-* ‘further’ (adj.): *āmbara-* means ‘the surrounding.’ For the sense ‘amictus,’ note the “roundabout” of the sailor, and the style of cloak called “circular.” Compare too Sanskrit *vāsaḥ paridhānam*.

8. *Pratīcīḥ* in RV. iv. 3. 2d (B₁).

Agni is summoned in this stanza to a fire kindling. The general purport is clear, but there is a verbal difficulty in the last *pāda*,

imā u te svapāka pratīcīḥ,

to wit, as to what substantive is to be supplied with *pratīcīḥ*. Sāyaṇa supplies ‘flames’ or ‘hymns,’ Ludwig ‘gentes’ or ‘cives’ or even the ‘ladles of the sacrifice,’ and Grassmann supplies ‘libations,’ while Griffith follows Sāyaṇa. In support of the native interpretation I cite vii. 39. 1b (A)

pratīcī jūrṇīr devātātim eti,

“The toward flame goes to the godhead.”

Here the situation is that the fire has been kindled and the flames ascend. In iv. 3. 2, Agni is invited to come and kindle the fire and the ‘toward <flames>’ are the ‘expectant flames’ unless, instead of *jūrṇāyaḥ*, we supply *saṁīdhāḥ* ‘kindlings, faggots.’ As to *svapāka*, Ludwig’s ‘selbst garer’ suggests to me ‘self-cooker, self-kindler.’

Notes on the Mṛcchakatika.—By Dr. ARTHUR W. RYDER, The University of California, Berkeley, Cal.

THE following notes serve as a supplement to my translation¹ of the *Mṛcchakatika*, recently published as Volume ix of the Harvard Oriental Series.

The method of citation here adopted is a slight modification of that explained on pages xv-xvi of the edition and translation of the *Karpūramañjarī*, Volume iv of the Harvard Oriental Series. The verses are cited by the act and the number of the individual verse within the act. The citation for prose gives the number of the act, the number of the last preceding verse, and the number of the prose speech counted from the last preceding verse. The following abbreviations require explanation: Apte. Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary. By V. S. Apte. Poona, 1890.

Böhtlingk. *Mṛcchakatika* . . . übersetzt von Otto Böhtlingk. St. Petersburg, 1877.

Calcutta commentary. The commentary of Śrīrāmanayaśarma, found in the Calcutta edition of 1870. This commentary I have been obliged to take at second hand.

Godabole. The *Mṛcchakatika* . . . edited by N. B. Godabole. Bombay, 1896. Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. iii.

HOS. Harvard Oriental Series.

JV. Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara. *Mṛcchakatika* (*sic*) . . . edited with a full commentary by Pandit Jibānanda Vidyāsāgara, B.A. Third edition. Calcutta, 1898.

LD. The commentary of Lallādīkṣita, as given in Godabole's edition.

Lévi. *Le Théâtre Indien*, par Sylvain Lévi. Paris, 1890.

P. The commentary of Prthvīdhara, as given in Parab's edition.

¹ The Little Clay Cart . . . translated . . . by Arthur William Ryder. Harvard Oriental Series, Volume Nine. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1905.

Parab. The *Mṛichchhakaṭika* . . . edited by Kāshināth Pāṇ-
durang Parab. Bombay, 1900.

Regnaud. Le Chariot de Terre Cuite . . . traduit . . . par
Paul Regnaud. Paris, 1876.

Stenzler. *Mṛcchakaṭikā* . . . sanskrit edidit. A. F. Stenzler.
Bonn, 1847.

Wilson. Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus, trans-
lated . . . by H. H. Wilson. Volume i, pp. 1-182. Third
edition. London, 1871.

It is greatly to be regretted that we have no old and full commentary on the *Mṛcchakaṭika*. The only comment which may be earlier than the nineteenth century is the meager gloss of Pṛthvīdhara, who gives us no information about his date; it is interesting to note (see Parab, 37. 25) that he knew the Bṛhatkathā. But Pṛthvīdhara builds upon previous commentators; he refers to a *prācīnaṭikā* (e. g. 40. 28), to *ke cit* (e. g. 7. 25), to *eke* and *apare* (e. g. 26. 25-26). Unless this previous exegesis should come to light, we must remain in doubt about many points, especially in the Prākṛit of *Samsthānaka* and the *Cāṇḍālas*. Yet, even so, the *Mṛcchakaṭika* is one of the easier of the works of the classical Sanskrit literature. Śūdraka's vocabulary is not very large, his sentence-structure is simple, and his thought is rarely involved or difficult. Inasmuch as the action of the play continues for only five or six days,¹ the author does not use the *Viṣkambha* or the *Praveśaka*.

In HOS. ix, p. xix, I have called attention to the fact that Śūdraka does not slavishly follow the canons of dramaturgy as laid down in the technical works which we possess. It is worth while in this place to give examples proving that his grammar also conforms less closely to the norm than that of Bhavabhūti, for example.

(a) In i. 14, under stress of meter, he uses *nidhanatā* in the sense of *nirdhanatā*. JV. warns us that we must pardon the

¹ See HOS. ix, pp. xxvi-xxix. There is nothing to show whether the action of the tenth act occurs on the same day as that of the ninth act. Windisch, *Berichte der philol.-histor. Classe der Königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* 1886, pp. 474-479, allows only four days for the action of the play. But the speech of Viraka, ix. 23, shows that a night had passed between the strangling of Vasantasenā (Act viii) and the trial (Act ix).

blemish, because Śūdraka is a great poet: *nidhanasabdo maraṇe rūḍhaḥ, atra tu dhanaśūnyatve prayuktatvāt prasiddhivirodhā-khyaadoṣaḥ sodhavyaḥ, mahākavipraṇītātvaḥ iti bodhyam*. Cf. Hit. i. 128 (134), where this verse reappears with variants but with *nidhanatā*. In i. 37, *nirdhanatā* is used.

(b) In i. 32, he uses the causative form *nāmyati*. This does not prevent his use of the normal *nāmayati* in prose, at viii. 46°. Compare the causative form *unmānya*, used by Bhavabhūti in *Mālatīmādhava*, ix. 31.

(c) iii. 18°. The masculine singular *deśakālāḥ* is curious; we should expect either *deśakālāu* or *deśakālam*.

(d) v. 30. Here it is hard to parse *yadvat*, though the meaning is plain enough. But this case is complicated by the reading of the second line; see the note on this verse, below.

(e) vii. 4. *sa tāvaḥ asmād vyasanārṇavotthitam*. If this reading is correct, we have the ablative *asmāt* agreeing with the prior member of the compound. Compare, in vii. 8, the curious use of *asmin* without a noun: so *etasmin* in *Ratnāvalī*, ii. 19.

(f) viii. 38. The use of *āśraya* as a feminine is, so far as I can find, elsewhere unparalleled.

(g) x. 27. The phrase *dūṣitaṁ yaśaḥ* is logically coördinate with *maraṇāt*, and should therefore be in the ablative.

Such instances might be multiplied. In the structure of his verse, also, Śūdraka permits himself some liberties. Instances in point are i. 30, where the third *pāda* is in a different meter from the rest; iii. 7 (fourth *pāda*); iv. 17 (second *pāda*). Lévi has shown (pp. 206-208) in a masterly fashion that such considerations have little value for the dating of the play; but they are of real importance in the exegesis of cases less certain than those given.

Act i.

i. 1. It is of negative interest to observe that Śūdraka's Nandī invokes the favor of Śiva. Of course, this is the case with the great majority of the plays whose authors are without sectarian bias, and regard their works as pieces of literature without didactic purpose. The sequence of thought in the first three lines is rigid. Line 1 suggests the physical means employed by Śiva to plunge himself into trance; line 2, the con-

sequent numbing of the organs of sense; line 3, the resultant insight into things as they are.

In line 4, the long compound *śūnyekṣaṇaghaṭitalayabrahma-lagnah* is not wholly simple. The commentators and translators differ widely in their interpretations. It seems to me that the Calcutta commentary offers the best explanation: *śūnyam, prapañcābhāvaḥ: tasya yad iṅṣaṇaṁ darśanaṁ tena ghaṭito jāto yo layaś cittāṅkāgratā tatpravaṇatāviśeṣo vā*, etc. The line may then be literally translated: "May the meditation of Śambhu protect you, which is fixed on the supreme being with an intensity sprung from his insight into the emptiness of the material world."

i. 4. The information here given about the life of Śūdraka is tantalizingly imperfect. P. tells us that the phrase *agnim pravistaḥ* means that he made a sacrifice of his body in the fire, as did the old sage Śarabhaṅga: see *Rāmāyaṇa* (Bombay ed.) iii. 5. 38, *praviveśa hutāśanam* or *Raghuvaṁśa*, xiii. 45, *cirāya samtarpya samidbhir agniṁ yo mantrapūtāṁ tanum apy ahauṣit*. Similar phrases are used in the *Mudrārākṣasa*, where Viṣṇudāsa is reported to be burning himself alive from grief at the loss of his friend Candanadāsa: vi. 15¹¹ *jalaṇaṁ pavesidukāmo*; vi. 15¹² *agni-praveṣe*; vi. 16² *hutaḥhuji praveśahetuḥ*; vi. 17² *jalaṇaṁ pavisāmi*.

i. 7. See note on iii. 30, below.

i. 8¹. For the expression *aṇṇamaṁ jāloṁ pekkhāmi* compare Nāgānanda iv. 13¹: *putta ahaṁ kkhū tujjha maraṇabhīdā savvaṁ pi jāloṁ garuḍamaṁ pekkhāmi*.

i. 8². This speech is interesting in showing how the meaning 'cut' may have come to attach itself to the causative of *klp*. *Kappijjantaṁ* plainly signifies here 'cut to pieces, killed,' in its application to Jūrnavṛddha; but it also means 'arranged' as applied to the young bride's hair. Both meanings are included in the English 'fix'. The secondary meaning of 'fix' in such slang phrases as "I'll fix him," is quite like the secondary meaning of *kalpayati*. This explanation seems more natural than that of the PW.¹ The word is used in the sense of 'cut' again in i. 30 and in iii. 21^{3,4}.

¹ [For a parallel in the development of meaning, compare *sūd* (arrange, 'fix,' kill). *Ed.*]

i. 12¹. The phrase *dāsīe puttā atthakallavattā* has been, I think, quite misinterpreted by the translators. Wilson has: "The sons of slaves! your guest is ever ready to make a morning meal of a fortune." Regnaud: "Ah les fils d'esclaves! Ils font un déjeuner de votre bien." Böhrling: "Diese Söhne von Slavinnen mit ihrem Bischen Gelde." These translations assume that *arthakalyavarta* is a *bahuvrīhi*: 'whose breakfast is money;' but the same word in ix. 22¹ must mean 'a trifle of money': compare *strikalyavarta* in its *Prākṛit* form in iv. 5², 'a mere trifle, namely a woman;' at ii. 12⁴, 13¹ the word *kalyavarta* also means a 'trifle.' These translations also miss the point of *khajjanti*; it is not supposed guests, but the money itself, which makes itself at home only where it isn't used for food (*khajjanti*), like the cattle-boys who stay only where they are not eaten up (*khajjanti*) by wasps. The correct interpretation is found in JV., who says: *dāsyāḥ putrā ity anena cāi 'śām* (i. e. *arthānām*) *atiheyatā sūcitā*. In other words, *dāsyāḥ putrāḥ* is merely a humorous epithet of *arthakalyavarta*: 'this damned money-trifle.' The phrase *dāsyāḥ putrāḥ* is in *Prākṛit* not infrequently applied to things, with the same illogical humor found in the corresponding use of 'confounded' or 'damned' in English. Compare also "You son-of-a-gun of a fool' (confounded fool). In iii. 6¹⁴ it is applied to the gem-casket; in v. 47¹, to the storm. In Śak. vi. 20¹ (Pischel) and in Nāgānanda iii. 2⁵, it is applied to bees. It will be noticed that in all these cases the phrase is used by the *Vidūṣaka*.

i. 14. This verse reappears as *Hitopadeśa* i. 134 (Godabole and Parab) with the following variants: line 1, *sattvāt paribhraṣyate* for *prabhraṣyate tejasah*; line 2, *niḥsattvaḥ* for *nistejāḥ*; line 3, *śokanihataḥ* for *śokapihitaḥ*.

i. 15. The phrase *vāiram aparam* means 'another (form of) hostility (with mankind)'; the figure is striking. In the second line *svajanajana-* must mean 'kinsmen and strangers,' as the commentators say. The *ca* in the third line is difficult: P. and LD. say *cakāro hetāu*; Böhrling and Regnaud adopt this suggestion. But this meaning for *ca* can hardly be found elsewhere; is it not better to understand it in the sense of 'if' (*cet*)? Then the line means: "(it is the part of) wisdom to go into the forest if (*ca*) there is (*bhavati*) contempt from his wife."

i. 22. *Sūdraka* uses *viśeṣayati* in the meaning of 'surpass' again at iv. 4.

i. 23. It cannot be doubted that Saṁsthānaka's arithmetic is at fault here; the 'ten names' are really eleven, and are not to be reduced by combination; *daśe 'ti vyartham*, says P. tersely.

i. 30^a. With the expression *na puṣpamoṣam arhaty udyānalaṭā*, compare iv. 6: *no muṣṇāmy abalām vibhūṣaṇavatīm phulām ivā 'haṁ laṭām*.

i. 30^a. The phrase *śavāmi bhūvaśśa śīśaṁ attapaṇakehiṁ pādehiṁ* is repeated almost exactly at viii. 37^{1a}. In spite of the differences in case, it can hardly be doubted that Saṁsthānaka means 'I swear by the gentleman's head *and* by my own feet,' not '... schwöre ich ... mit meinen Füßen beim Haupte dieses klugen Herrn,' as Böhlingk translates.

i. 31. The last line is repeated at viii. 17¹.

i. 32. For the form *nāmyati* see above, page 420. [It may be due to confusion with -am roots of the *ya-* class (*tāmyati*, etc.). The middle (passive) *nāmyate* also suggests the form. —Ed.]

i. 32^a. One of the subtlest points in the character of the ignorant and conceited Saṁsthānaka is the fact that he permits the Viṭa to apply to him repeatedly the drastic epithet *kāṇeli-mātr*, apparently never realizing the gross insult.

i. 34. Quoted in Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaḍarśa*, ii. 226, 362.

i. 34¹. It seems as if the grammar would be better if *bhūṣa-naśabdham* and *mālyagandham* were in the nominative.

i. 41. The initial *eṣā 'śi* harks back, with humorous effect, to the *eṣā 'si* of the preceding verse.

i. 45. Parab's *nirmitāḥ* is apparently a mere misprint for *nirjitāḥ*.

i. 46. For the form *śuṣkavān*, see Pāṇ. viii. 2. 51.

i. 50^a. The word *kākapadaśīśamaśtaka*, which Saṁsthānaka applies to Māitreya again at ix. 30^a receives two explanations from the commentators. It is said to mean either (1) chief of the princes of sharpers, or (2) whose head-pate is like a caret. The first explanation seems forced and unnatural, the second quite in keeping with Saṁsthānaka's character; *śīśamaśtakā iti śakāravāṇītvena punaruktatvaṁ na doṣaḥ* (P.).

i. 50^{1a}. This speech (repeated at i. 55^{a, b}) contains, so far as I know, the only reference to a female stage-manager (*sūtradhārī*). For a word like *tāṇḍavasūtradhārī* (comm. *nartane kuśalā*) in *Cāurapañcāśikā* 7 is obviously without bearing on the history of

the drama in India. The expression in our passage cannot be used as direct evidence, since it may be nothing more than another absurdity of Saṁsthānaka's.

i. 51. The words *līṇe a vele* have received a double Sanskritization from the commentators; either as *līṇāyām sa velāyām*, or as *ṇam ca vāiram*. The sense which Böhtlingk and Regnaud extract from the second interpretation is excellent: "a pumpkin stalk . . . , debts, and enmity never rot"; but the construction is very strange, with a string of nominatives followed by *na khalu bhavati pūtiḥ*. Unless we are willing to take the ungrammatical and illogical form of statement as a part of Saṁsthānaka's dialect, we are forced to adopt the first explanation: "a pumpkin-stalk . . . do not rot, even when a long time has passed" (JV.: *velāyām samaye līṇāyām atītāyām api*).

i. 52. What does *nirvalkalam* mean as applied to a sword? It seems to me that the word is used in an extravagant sense; the sword is barkless, i. e., it has no time to gather mould, it is always busy. JV. suggests that it means 'out of its sheath' (*valkalam tarutvak, lakṣaṇayā tannirmitam kośam, tasmān nir-gatam: niṣkośam ity arthah*). This seems quite out of accord with *kośasuptam* in the next line; but perhaps, after all, Saṁsthānaka would speak of a 'naked' sword as one 'ungarmented,' and if so, the immediate contradiction of *kośasuptam* would be but another absurdity of the speaker. Saṁsthānaka seems interested in radishes; cf. viii. 3⁴.

i. 52⁵. Böhtlingk supplies *rohasenam* as object of *prāvṛṇoti*; but there is no indication of Rohasena's actual presence, nor is there any reason why she should do this *apavāritakena*. Surely, we have to supply *ātmānam*, as in the common stage-direction *apavāryā*: she wraps *herself* in the mantle, without letting Cārudatta see. Indeed, Böhtlingk supplies *ātmānam* with *prāvṛṇoti* below at ii. 20⁷.

i. 56. The phrase *bhāgyakṛtām daśām* probably refers to Cārudatta's poverty, not to Vasantasenā's profession, as Böhtlingk takes it. Cārudatta deplores, almost too frequently, his plight, but he does not often refer to the fact that Vasantasenā is a courtesan. Besides, this fact surely would not prevent her from entering the house. The two concluding lines are difficult. They seem to mean: "and because of her acquaintance

with men, she does not speak impudently, even though she speaks many things." But Vasantasenā has not spoken a word aloud since her entry into the house; so that perhaps we have to understand 'a man' as subject of bhāsate. This seems to be Wilson's understanding of the verse; he renders:

"Nor makes she harsh reply, but silent leaves
The man she scorns, to waste his idle words."

i. 56³. The sense seems to require at the end the phrase utthēdha tti which is found in Stenzler and Godabole, but is lacking in Parab and JV.

i. 57. The striking expression timiranikara, 'multitudinous darkness,' is used again by Bhavabhūti at Māl. viii. 1. Nikara, 'heap,' corresponds exactly to the negro use of heap, in 'heap dark,' etc.

Act ii.

ii. 0¹. The verb ālikh is explained by LD. as meaning 'to yearn' (abhilas); Regnaud and Böhtlingk follow this explanation, the former reading kaṁ pi, the latter, kiṁ pi. Perhaps the verb, in combination with hrdayena, does acquire this meaning; but it seems more natural to take it in its ordinary meaning of 'draw, paint': "she is painting something (or 'somebody,' if we read kaṁ pi) with her whole heart." The something is, of course, a picture of Cārudatta, perhaps the one which she is gazing at in iv. 0¹. A lovelorn heroine in Indian drama has no more familiar occupation than painting the picture of her beloved.

ii. 0¹⁴. The text is doubtful; my translation simply attempts to make the best of Parab's text, but the result is not wholly satisfactory. The reading which JV. offers deserves consideration: ko kkhū nāma ajja attabhodī aṇugahido mahūsave taru-
najaṇo—What young person now receives my mistress' favor in the great festival (of her joy; mahān utsava ānandasvarūpas tasmin)?

ii. 2¹. We may read devī bhaviśśaṁ as two words 'I will turn goddess,' or devībhaviśśaṁ as one word, 'I will turn god.' The situation is reproduced in Kipling's *Krishna Mulvaney*.

ii. 4⁹. Parab's reading krīdati seems inferior to krīdataḥ of Stenzler and Godabole, and seems to have no Ms. authority.

ii. 6²⁶. The *châyā* should read *dhūrtye* instead of *dhūrtay-āmi*.

ii. 9. In Parab's text, *tretāhṛtasārvasvaḥ* should be printed as one word.

ii. 10¹. In this speech and in ii. 11⁸ the word *tapasvī* seems to be used in a double sense; on the one hand it means 'poor, unfortunate (*varāka*)' and on the other hand, 'saint.' The second meaning is made almost certain by the fact that each of these speeches is followed by a verse describing ascetic practices. Then *ayam tapasvī*, like *ayam janah*, will refer to the speaker, not to *Māthura*, as LD. and the translators understand, and the little speech will mean: "and yet, what more should a poor saint like me do? for I, etc." This is the view which JV. presents: *tapasvī varāko nirdoṣo 'kṣama iti vā: ayam ity ātma-nirdeṣo dardurakaḥ kiṁ kariṣyati karotv ity arthaḥ*.

ii. 13²⁷ (just before ii. 14). The word *tulidam* is difficult; probably it means 'proportioned (to her innocence),' as the same word in ii. 14 means 'proportioned (to his strength).'

ii. 14¹. Godabole's suggestion that *lakkhida mhi* represents in Sanskrit *rakṣito 'smi* is worthy of consideration.

ii. 14². Read *kaṁ* for the *kiṁ* of Parab's text.

ii. 14²⁶ (just before ii. 15). The phrase *kudo so dhanio* is intentionally ambiguous. On the one hand, it means: "Where is your creditor (i. e. *Māthura*)?" On the other hand, it means: "How can he (*Cārudatta*) be a rich man?" The shampooer is shrewd enough to see that it is the hidden meaning which really interests *Vasantasenā*, and answers accordingly.

ii. 15. Both the meter and the interpretation offer difficulties. On the meter, see Stenzler, pp. 257-258. The meaning of lines 3 and 4 depends on the presence or absence of *ṇa*, given in Parab's text and assumed as present by P., but having very little Ms. support. If *ṇa* be kept, then we must, with P., assume that the last line contains a rhetorical question; and so I have translated. But I confess that the latter half of the verse puzzles me greatly.

ii. 16². The reading *ṇam* is preferable to Stenzler's *ṇa*, and has more Ms. authority.

ii. 16⁷. Here Parab's reading seems inferior to the *ajjo bandhuanam samassāsīdum* of Stenzler and Godabole.

ii. 16⁸. The phrase is one of exaggerated courtesy: "mistress, if it may be, then let this art remain in the hands of a

servant (of yours)," that is to say, "take me into your service." Regnaud translates: " . . . permettez-moi d'exercer mon art à votre service," which renders the idea freely; but Böhrling seems to me to miss the point with his translation: " . . . gestatte, dass ich diese meine Kunst den Händen deiner Dienerschaft anvertraue." JV. is very clear: pariṇāhastagatā pariṇāhastasya poṣṭhāhastasya mame 'ti bhāvaḥ . . . sevakatvena mām anumanyasve 'ti bhāvaḥ.

ii. 17. Doubtless Stenzler is right in printing *bihaccham* (*bibhatsam*). It is hard to see how *vīhattham* could represent a Sanskrit *vīhastam*, and the efforts of the commentators to explain the latter word are far from satisfactory.

ii. 18. The *edi* (*eti*) of the other texts seems preferable to Parab's *ehi*.

ii. 19'. Parab's *tac ca* seems inferior to the *taṁ ca* of Stenzler and Godabole.

ii. 19⁸. The phrase *vāmacalapeṇa jūdalekkhaṁ ugghusia* *ugghusia* has caused commentators and translators considerable difficulty. It is plain from the word *dyūtalekhaka* that the monk is none other than the shampooer; this much P. has seen. The word *lekhaka* is used in ii. 2, where it plainly has the meaning 'a (gambling) score.' Stenzler's *chāyā* is right, I think, in taking *ugghusia* as the representative of *udghṛṣya* rather than of *udghuṣya*. The phrase then becomes simple enough: "stumbling with my left foot over a gambler's score." The suddenly metamorphosized shampooer has forgotten to rid himself of his gambling paraphernalia, which he drops when attacked by the elephant.

ii. 20⁶. The custom of marking a garment with the owner's name is referred to again in viii. 43¹¹.

Act iii.

iii. 2. For Parab's *anṇapaśattakalatte* we have another reading *anṇakalattapaśatte*. Either gives a good sense.

iii. 3. LD. suggests that *priyatamā virahāturāṇām* may be taken as one word: 'of those sick because of separation from the beloved.'

iii. 8'. The *svapitaḥ* of Stenzler and Godabole is better than the *svapiti* of Parab and JV.

iii. 12. P. and LD. explain *darśanāntaragata* as meaning

'found in the treatises on robbery,' and this, I think, is correct: cf. *darsītaḥ* in iii. 12'. Regnaud also follows the commentators on this point.

iii. 13. The commentators take *vistṛṇam* as a separate form of breach, and so obtain seven forms in all, according to the passage from the *Cāuradarsāna* which they quote. This is a point on which it is best to follow their authority, but Böhtlingk (p. 190) states the objections.

iii. 14. Regnaud and Böhtlingk take *viṣamāsu* in the sense of 'difficult'; but I think LD. is right in giving it the meaning 'unsuccessful' (*viparītāsu*). The epithet then anticipates and explains the *doṣān* of the fourth line.

iii. 16'. The words *cikitsām kṛtvā* are better taken as part of the text, not of the stage-direction.

iii. 17'. Parab's *na* in the phrase *kva na khalu salilam bha-
viṣyati* is apparently a mere misprint for *nu*.

iii. 18'. It seems to me that the translators miss the point in *tan mamā 'pi nāma śarvilakasya bhūmiṣṭhaṁ dravyam* when they interpret: "whatever is underground is my property" (Wilson). Does not the speaker rather mean: "well, the property belonging to me too, to Śarvilaka, is underground," that is, "I have no property?" If this is correct, the clause is merely a humorous afterthought to the preceding sentence.

iii. 18^a. Apparently Parab's *kiṁ na* is a misprint for *kiṁ nu*.

iii. 18^b. On *deśakālaḥ*, see above, p. 420. The construction of *dhikkṛtam andhakāram (bīs)* is quite unclear to me; the translators take *dhik kṛtam* as two words: 'lie on the made darkness.' This construction seems very forced and awkward, but I can offer nothing better. I think, however, that a mark of punctuation should precede *bhadrapīṭhena*: 'lie on the darkness caused by the *bhadrapīṭha*; or rather, lie on the darkness caused by me,' etc. The reading *asmadbrāhmaṇakule* of Stenzler and Godabole seems better than the *-kulena* of Parab and JV.

iii. 19. The word *anirveditapāuruṣam* is very curious; we should expect *anivedita-*, 'to which manliness is unknown,' and this is what JV. reads. Perhaps we have to parallel this form with *nidhanatā* for *nirdhanatā* in i. 14 (see above, p. 419), but the meter does not demand the form *anirvedita-* here.

iii. 20. Read in Parab's text *vāg deśa-*.

iii. 21⁶. It is strange that Māitreyā should quote the words dūdiaṁ via dūāraṁ ugghāḍidaṁ, when Radanikā has not used the expression in what precedes.

iii. 24. This verse is repeated as v. 43.

iii. 26⁶. The sentence beginning bhaavaṁ kaanta is repeated almost literally at vi. 0⁹⁰, this latter time in Vasantasenā's mouth.

iii. 29. This verse is repeated as v. 7.

iii. 29¹. With asmaccharīrasprṣṭikā (a gesture of solemn asseveration). cf. the expression mārjāro bhūmiṁ sprṣṭvā karnāu sprṣṭi in the fable of the cat and the vulture in the first book of the *Hitopadeśa*. JV. has: gātrasaṁsparśena śapathakaraṇaṁ lāukikaprasiddham eva.

iii. 30. In the second half of this verse the words na yasya rakṣām are difficult of interpretation. This difficulty doubtless explains the presence of the variant nṛpasya rakṣān, which Stenzler adopts. This latter reading gives a good sense, and forms the basis of the translations of Regnaud and Böhtlingk. But the large majority of the Mss. have na yasya rakṣām; and as this is the *lectio difficilior*, we are bound to make what we can of it. It is easy to see how na yasya rakṣām might be altered by a puzzled reader into nṛpasya rakṣān, while the reverse process is almost inconceivable. The commentators give little help. P. and LD. are silent. JV. has: yasya sandhe rakṣām na pariharāmi na tyajāmi satatam eva sandhiṁ rakṣāmī 'ty arthaḥ. This reads almost like nonsense, for it makes the second half of the verse contradict the first half; the last thing which Cārudatta desires is the preservation of the breach. The Calcutta commentary is hardly more successful; yasya sandhe rakṣām rakṣaṇaṁ svarūpeṇā 'vasthānam iti yāvat: na pariharāmi no 'pekṣe sandhiṁ rakṣitum na śaknomī 'ty arthaḥ. Here the explanation of rakṣām as "the preservation (of the breach) in its present form" is ingenious enough; but the commentator is forced to give to na pariharāmi a meaning exactly the reverse of that which the phrase should have. Surely na (sandhe) rakṣām pariharāmi must needs mean: "I do not avoid the preservation (of the breach) in its present form," which is precisely the opposite of what the speaker wishes to say. Wilson translates as if the na were absent: "we'll leave no trace to catch the idle censure of men's tongues." The translation of Wilson and the brave attempt of the Calcutta commentary point the

way, I think, to the solution of the difficulty. Obviously, the trouble lies in the na. The clause becomes plain enough if we read *nayasya*, which involves no change in the Ms. reading. The verse may then be translated: "Quickly close up the breach with these bricks; I avoid the preservation of justice, because of the abundant evil of scandal." The word *naya* occurs once more in the play, in i. 7: *nayapracāraṁ vyavahāraduṣṭatām*. In this passage the words *naya* and *vyavahāra* are used, it seems to me, with a slight *double entendre*. The line means, on the one hand, "the practice of legal justice, and the vicious quality of a legal process," as illustrated in the ninth act of the play, and, on the other hand, "the practice of justice (referring to Cārudatta) and viciousness of conduct (referring to Saṁsthānaka)." This affords a further suggestion for iii. 30. Cārudatta means to say: "I am willing, under the circumstances, to thwart the law," and perhaps he wishes his auditors to understand nothing more than this; but to himself he means to say: "Scandal is such a dreadful evil that I am justified in departing from the course of conduct which strict justice demands." The word *naya*, with its more specific and its more general meaning, like "justice" in English, is admirably adapted to express both the *artha* and the *bhāva*, the superficial and the deeper meaning.

Act iv.

iv. 1. We should surely read *rakṣān* instead of *rakṣyān*.

iv. 3. The second line is explained by iii. 12; it was unlucky for a thief to see a woman during his expeditions. JV. remarks that the *cāuraśāstra* forbids a thief to enter such a house as that here described.

iv. 7¹. Delete the mark of punctuation after *alaṅkārao* in Parab and Godabole.

iv. 7². Stenzler is right in printing the *iti* as part of the stage-direction.

iv. 14. The slight illogicality in the singular *-sumanāḥ* is doubtless owing simply to the stress of meter, and is not worth the trouble which the commentators give themselves to explain it.

iv. 17. The meter is irregular (12. 11: 12.12).

iv. 20. In the third line, *vā* has more authority than *ca*, and is probably the correct reading; it seems to be used in the sense of *eva* (JV. has *vā avadhāraṇe*).

iv. 24'. JV. takes *rāṣṭriya* to mean chief-of-police (*rāṣṭra-pālaḥ: nagararakṣāyām niyutko rājapurusa ity arthaḥ*), rather than brother-in-law of the king; and I think he is right, for *Samsthānaka* nowhere appears as a government officer, giving sensible orders in Sanskrit. On the other hand, *rāṣṭriya* is used at ix. 38' and x. 51' in the meaning 'brother-in-law of the king.' As Böhtlingk remarks (p. 192), we should have an *iti* at the end of the speech.

iv. 25². This is the only indication in the play that *Śarvilaka* is the son of *Rebhila*.

iv. 27'. There seems to be a pun on *puṣpaka*, and I have translated accordingly. The reading *ṇāraṇārī* is better than *Parab's naraṇārī*.

iv. 27⁶. The pompous language of this description of the portal makes one wonder whether it is not an intentional travesty. In the long compound beginning with *toraṇa-*, JV. explains *-vediā-* as 'pedestals' (*talasthabaddhapradeśāḥ*).

iv. 27¹⁰. There is doubt about the form and meaning of *kūracuatellamiśam*. If the second element represents Sanskrit *-cyuta-*, perhaps it means 'drippings.' P. has *bhaktatāilaghṛtamīśrapīḍam*; but JV. analyses quite differently: *kūrād dravyaviśeṣāc cyutaṁ niṣṭhyūtaṁ yat tāilaṁ tena miśraṁ yuk-tam*. The word *kūra* is used again in x. 29.

iv. 27¹². If *sāhīṇa-* really belongs here (*it** is lacking in many Mss.), it probably means 'own'; the whole word will then mean 'possessed of its own dice, made out of gems.' Read *paribbhamanti* in *Parab*.

iv. 27¹⁴. Here *pagīdāo* must be used in an active sense, 'singing' (*prakarṣeṇa gānaparā ity arthaḥ: JV.*). *Sasiṅgārao* (*saśṛṅgārah*) is impossible; we must read either *sasiṅgārāo* (fem. plu.) or *sasiṅgāraam*.

iv. 28⁵. On the tame *madanasārikā*, see HOS. iv, page 229, note 8. To *pesiānti* LD. supplies *yoddhum*, 'are provoked to fight.' In *Parab's* text, *paṇḍikidā* is a misprint for *piṇḍikidā*.

iv. 29. This passage (*mā dāva . . . loassa*) is printed by *Stenzler*, *Godabole*, and JV. as prose; only *Parab* regards it as a verse. The matter is of a sort which the *Vidūṣaka* would be

apt to put into verse; it is not narration nor description, but a kind of humorous moralizing. If we regard the passage as verse, it falls into five pādas, the scheme of which is 12, 17: 13, 14, 15. Now if we disregard the fifth pāda, and apply the rule pādāntasthaṁ vikalpena (Śrutabodha 2) or vā pādānte (Vṛttaratnākara, i. 9), we obtain the scheme 12, 18: 12, 14, which makes a pretty fair āryā; and it seems to me that Parab is right in assuming that the Vidūṣaka speaks here in verse. But what becomes of the words anāhigamanīo loassa? It is of course possible that they were intended by Śūdraka as a prose remark following the verse; but this is improbable. The words add nothing to the sense of the passage; they are merely an explanation of the comparison of Vasantasenā's brother with a graveyard champak. Is it not probable that these words were originally a gloss? It would be natural for a reader to add the marginal comment anāhigamanīyo lokasya; the next scribe might easily incorporate the remark into the text, and the easy change into Prākṛit would naturally follow. We have an interesting parallel in vi. 20^a. Here Candanaka, after his Prākṛit speech, adds in Sanskrit: kiṁ śabdavicāraḥ: śrīpunnapuṁsaka-vyākhyānam aprastutam. "Why consider the words? An exposition of feminine, masculine, and neuter is irrelevant." Although all the Mss. give this matter, it is rendered very suspicious by the unmotivated change into Sanskrit, and has all the appearance of being a gloss. Parab omits it; and JV., omitting it in the text, gives it as a part of his comment. I think there can hardly be a doubt that JV. has correctly preserved the original division between text and comment; and if this is true, it seems probable that the same process has taken place in iv. 29, with the added step of changing the isolated Sanskrit words into Prākṛit.

iv. 29^a. The commentators take phullapāvāraa- to mean 'a garment embroidered with flowers;' and in view of the variant pupphapāvāraa-, this is perhaps to be preferred to the meaning 'expanded, baggy.'

iv. 29^a. The correct reading of the word which Parab gives in the form kavatṭhadāṇīe is doubtful; and P.'s interpretation of kavatṭha- as = kapardaka does not help. We can hardly do better than read karatṭa- and adopt the explanation 'dirty.'

iv. 30^a. Read in Parab's text accharīa- (āścarya-) for accharīdi-, and write rovidā aṇeapādavā as two words.

iv. 32⁷. As soon as the conversation becomes familiar, Vasantasenā reverts to Prākṛit.

Act v.

v. 2. The compound in the first line is thus analyzed by LD. and JV.: jalārdramahiṣasyo 'daram bhr̥ṅgaś ca tadvan nīlah.

v. 5. To the word patrachedya (cf. chedya 'engraved') the commentators unite in giving the conventional (rūḍha) meaning 'picture,' and we can hardly doubt that they are right, as patra is used in the same way with other words implying marking upon a (leaf) plate.

v. 6. In the second line, vā = iva. In the third line adhvānam means 'road' in reference to Yudhiṣṭhira, but 'silence' (a-dhvāna) in reference to the kokila.

v. 7. This verse is the same as iii. 29.

v. 7¹. LD. has an artificial explanation of the last clause, according to which duṣṭāḥ = doṣāḥ, and the whole is to be taken as ironical. The translators seem to follow his lead. Böhtlingk, however, points out (p. 196) that duṣṭāḥ should be neuter, if this explanation is right. But a simple, literal translation gives better sense and better humor: "there even rogues are not born," i. e. a courtesan, an elephant, etc., make it impossible for anything, even a rascal, to flourish. This is also JV.'s understanding of the passage: duṣṭāḥ sadoṣā api janā na jāyante na tiṣṭhantī 'ty arthaḥ: doṣātirekasyā 'vaśyambhāvād iti bhāvaḥ.

v. 9¹. In kāmo vāmo, the Vidūṣaka makes use of his third homely prose proverb in this scene. This is one of the touches which make Maitreya a living character, very different from the stock Vidūṣaka.

v. 9³. Stenzler and JV. are wrong in rendering avedha by apeta (= apagacchata). Of course, it represents aveta, 'understand.'

v. 11²⁻⁶. This little scene is imitated by Harṣa in the Ratnāvalī, ii. 6⁵⁻⁷.

v. 11⁹. We would welcome an a (ca) after andhaāre. But compare duddiṇandhaāre in v. 38⁹.

v. 11¹⁴. The verb kākāsi shows pretty plainly that indamahakāmuko here means 'a crow' (so P. and JV.), not 'a dog.'

v. 11¹⁸. Parab's punctuation, with the mark after *teṇa hi*, is suggestive. The expression seems very colloquial: "first guess it, man; then (you may do as you like)."

v. 11²¹ (just before v. 12). In Parab's text, *suvaṣṣabhaṇḍaam* is, of course, a misprint for *suvaṇṇa*.

v. 15. The word *nirantarapayodharayā* is used in a double sense. In reference to the night as a natural object, it means 'whose clouds are close together'; in reference to the night as a rival wife, it means 'whose breasts are close together (i. e. swelling).'

v. 15². In my translation, I have taken *strīsvabhāvadurvi-dagdhayā* to mean 'ignorant of woman's nature,' because this meaning seemed to fit the context better than 'obstinate because of her woman's nature'; but the latter meaning, I now think, seems more natural to the word, and is probably correct.

v. 18. The commentators are doubtless right in taking *proṣitabharṭṛ* as a feminine, 'whose husbands are distant,' though in prose we should expect *proṣitabharṭṛkā*.

v. 19. In Parab's text, *balākāpāṇḍuroṣṇīṣam* should be printed as one word.

v. 20. JV. explains *protsārya* by *apasārya*: 'the clouds have driven away and captured the moonlight.'

v. 30. Parab's reading *nirapekṣa* seems to me better than *niravekṣya*, especially as I find no other instance of the compound *niravekṣ*. The construction is elliptical, but easily intelligible: "as (was thy grief when) thou didst speak falsely . . ., such is my grief also; O cruel! Let the cloud be restrained."

v. 36. In the fourth line, Parab's reading *-mukha-* seems to me much better than the *-sukha-* of the other editions. The genitives then modify *-mukha-*, as if we had *dākṣiṇyapaṇyasya mukhasya niṣkrayasiddhir astu*. The verse may be literally translated: 'May you have success in the sale of your face, the birthplace of fraud, deceit, and lies, together with pride; consisting of perfidy, in which love-sports have made their home; the courtesan's stock-in-trade, the compendium of amorous festivals; the price of which is courtesy.'

v. 40. The use of *ādita eva* is unusual; it is precisely equivalent to our colloquial 'from the start,' 'from the word go.'

v. 42. The commentators are sorely troubled by *dr̥ṣṭapūrvā-saṅgamavismṛtānām*, and offer very forced and artificial explan-

ations. Does it not mean simply 'forgotten in the gatherings of their former associates'?

v. 42¹. The bath-clout is that mentioned in iii. 18^a.

v. 43. This verse is the same as iii. 24.

v. 50. The compound *pracalitavedisaṃcayāntam* is difficult, and the commentators not wholly satisfactory. Probably *vedi* means 'pedestal' (cf. note on iv. 27^a); *saṃcaya* (aggregation) perhaps means 'a construction of closely-joined bricks (LD. *militābhīr iṣṭikābhīr nirmāṇam*)': then *vedisaṃcaya* will mean 'the brick-work of the pillar-pedestals.' The whole compound will therefore signify 'by which the edges of the brick-work of the pillar-pedestals are shaken.' In other words, the awning, flapping in the wind and rain, threatens to tear out by the roots the pillars to which it is fastened. In the fourth line, Parab's text should read *saṃklinnā* for *saklinnā*; the word means 'soggy.'

Act vi.

vi. 0⁹⁰. The words *bhaavaṃ . . . purisaabhāadheehiṃ* are repeated almost literally from iii. 26^a.

vi. 0⁹⁰. The *chāyā* should read *tvarate* for *tvarayati*; the latter would be in Prākṛit *tuvaredi*.

vi. 1. It is possible to understand the long compound in the first and second lines in either of two ways: 'the great ocean of misery and woe, called (*apadeśa* = *vyapadeśa*) the king's prison'; or 'the great ocean of woe resulting from misery under the guise (*apadeśa* = *miṣa*, LD. or *chala*, JV.) of the king's prison.' The slight awkwardness observable when Śūdraka attempts to form long compounds, as in this verse (twice) and in v. 24 (see note on that verse, above), serves at least to help our appreciation of Bhavabhūti's exquisite skill in handling them.

vi. 1¹. The use of *viśasane* is curious; either we must understand the word as an adjective (*vināśajanake*, JV.; *mörderisch*, Böhtlingk), or else take the word as a locative of purpose (*Vārttika* on Pāṇini, ii. 3. 36, quoted by LD. and the Calcutta commentary). The difficulty of taking the word as an adjective has led me to adopt the second interpretation, as does Regnaud also; but the case does not fall exactly under the *Vārttika*, because there is no *karmasamyoga*, i. e. the thing sought after is not

connected with the object of the action (see Kielhorn's Grammar, § 633 a).

vi. 2. The last two lines are puzzling; the difficulty lies partly in the sequence of thought, partly in the word *gamya* 'approachable.' For 'approachable' may mean either 'capable of being pacified' (*gatvā sandheyaḥ sātvanīya ity arthah*, JV.; *sarveṣām sevyah*, P. and the Calcutta commentary) or 'capable of being attacked': so Böhtlingk (*einem Könige kann man wohl beikommen*), and my translation. Besides, *gamyo* may represent *agamyah* out of *sandhi*. Then who is the *balavant*—*Pālaka*, or *Fate*, or *Āryaka*? And finally, does *dāivī siddhiḥ* mean 'success (in attaining the throne) due to fate,' or is it merely a circumlocution for *dāivam*? The translation of Böhtlingk, which mine closely resembles, gives a reasonable sense, but involves an awkward shifting of the point of view. Regnaud is ingenious, but hardly convincing; he takes *dāivī siddhiḥ* to mean 'fate,' and regards fate as identical with the king and the powerful one; the change of gender makes this very harsh. I would suggest another interpretation, without very much confidence in its correctness. "Even success (in attaining the throne; *rājapṛāptir api*, JV.) cannot be avoided; a king (i. e. I myself, destined to become king) must be appeased; for who can fight with him who is powerful?" That is, he cannot prevent my becoming king, for fate wills it; he had better make terms, for I am potentially more powerful than he. This interpretation is rather subtle and tortuous for *Śūdraka*; but it saves *api* from being a mere verse-filler, and preserves the same logical subject throughout the verse. On the other hand, it seems irrelevant to the following prose.

vi. 3. The reading *adattadaṇḍo*, found in *Parab* and *JV.*, gives better meter than the *anāyatārgalam* of *Stenzler* and *Godabole*.

vi. 6. I think we have to take *viśatthā* (*viśvastāḥ*) as a vocative: 'my trusty men.'

vi. 7. The word *sahāsu* (*sabhāsu*) probably refers here to gambling dens, dives.

vi. 15¹. It seems probable to me that *pūrvavāirī* and *pūrvabandhuḥ* mean 'enemy in a former life' and 'friend in a former life' rather than 'former enemy' and 'former friend.' In the play itself, there is no indication of any previous acquaintance of *Āryaka*'s with *Vīraka* or *Candanaka*.

vi. 16. In Parab's text, read *eka-* for *ekā-*.

vi. 18¹. There is no other allusion in the play to the fact that Śarvilaka had 'given life' to Candanaka.

vi. 20². See note on iv. 29.

vi. 22. I think it can hardly be doubted that Parab's *chāyā* interprets correctly the puzzling word *kuccaganṭhi-* as = Sanskrit *kūrcagranthi-*. The word then means 'beard-knots, scrubby beards.'

vi. 23³. In Parab's text, *tathā* should be printed as part of the stage-direction. See Shankar Pandit's edition of the *Māla-vikāgnimitra*, page 168, note 51.

Act vii.

vii. 1³. In Parab's text, read *vaddhamānao* for *vaddhamānaa*.

vii. 2. Parab's reading *karmāntojjhita-* seems preferable both to Stenzler's *karmāntotthita-* and the *vartmāntojjhita-* of Godabole and JV.; for the *-utthita-* of Stenzler must be rather forced to give a meaning, and so must the *-anta-* (= *madhye* LD.; *madhyabhāge* JV.) of the other texts. Parab's reading means of course 'left at the end of work.'

vii. 3. For the fourth line, compare D. D. Cunningham, *Indian Friends and Acquaintances* (New York, 1904), pp. 64-65: "The order of events is this: when everything is ready and a desirable nest has been chosen, the cock-coil, conspicuous in his shining black plumage and crimson eyes, seats himself on a prominent perch, whilst the hen, in modest speckled grey garb, lurks hidden among dense masses of neighbouring foliage. He then lifts up his voice and shouts aloud, his voice becoming more and more insistent with every repetition of his call, and very soon attracting the attention of the owners of the nest, who rush out to the attack and chase him away. Now comes the chance for his wife, who forthwith nips in to deposit her egg. Very often she does this successfully before the crows have returned, but every now and then she is caught in the act and driven off like her husband, uttering volleys of shrill outcries."

vii. 4. Parab's reading *asmād vyasanārnavotthitam* has rather more authority than Stenzler's *asmād vyasanān navotthitam*, and is a more forcible expression; Godabole and JV. have the same reading as Parab, though LD. seems to explain the

other reading. If Parab's text represents the original, we have an example of loose grammatical structure, inasmuch as *asmāt* must modify the prior member of the compound: cf. above, p. 420.

vii. 5. JV. and the Calcutta commentary are quite right in pointing out that the reading *nigaḍayugmam* contradicts the *ekacaranālaganiganigaḍaḥ* of vi. 0⁶² (shortly before vi. 1) and the *pādāgrasthitanigaḍāikapāsakarsī* of vi. 1 (also the *caranān nigaḍam apanaya* of vii. 6² and the *nigaḍam* of vii. 8; on the other hand, the plural is used at vii. 6^{3,4,5}); no doubt the reading *nigaḍam ekam* of Parab and JV. or the *nigaḍapāśam* of the Calcutta commentary is in itself preferable: but the reported manuscripts all read *nigaḍayugmam*.

vii. 6⁶. The expression *saṃgacchehi niadāim* is very curious. If this represents *saṃgacchasva nigaḍāni*, as it seems to, both the construction and the sense are difficult; for *nigaḍāni* ought to be in the instrumental, and there seems no reason why Māitreya should say "be united with the fetters." Commentators and translators are alike unsatisfactory. It is just possible that there is a smutty pun in *saṃgacchasva*, that Māitreya means to hint that Cārudatta, not being able to be united (sexually) with Vasantasenā, must be content to be united with what has actually come in the cart, namely the fetters. But this does not explain the case of *niadāim*.

vii. 6¹². The word before *gatiḥ* is given in the following forms; *atilaghusaṃcārā*, *alaghusaṃcārā*, *alaghusaṃvārā* (Godabole reads *laghusaṃcārā*). Doubtless *alaghusaṃcārā gatiḥ* yields a good meaning most easily: "your progress is one whose movement is not easy," i. e. 'you will find walking difficult'; but the *lectio difficilior alaghusaṃvārā* (Parab's reading) has a good deal of authority. If it is correct, it seems to mean 'whose concealment is not easy'; in this case, Cārudatta means that Aryaka would probably be detected if he left the cart. The reading *-saṃcārā* may have crept in from the *-saṃcāre* in the next clause.

vii. 7. It is a not uncommon stylistic device in Indian dramas to divide a verse. Sometimes the different parts are spoken by different characters, as here and at *Uttararāmacarita* i. 33; *Mālatīmādhava* iii. 18; x. 8: sometimes the same character speaks the whole verse, but is interrupted by prose speeches from others, as at i. 44; *Mudrārākṣasa* vi. 16; *Ratnāvalī* iv. 19;

Veṇīsaṁhāra vi. 16; Prasannarāghava v. 35. A peculiarly elaborate case is Uttararāmacarita iv. 24–25, where a verse is interrupted by a prose speech and by a second verse, this latter verse being itself divided between two characters.

Act viii.

viii. 1¹. There is some doubt about the reading, but that given in Parab's chāyā (. . . kevalam . . . śaraṇam asmi) has the most authority and is easier than . . . naraḥ . . . śaraṇe (gacched iti śeṣaḥ LD.). With the accepted reading, the line means: "Having seen (mundane things: saṁsāram JV.) from the standpoint of transitoriness, I am now the abode of virtues only."

viii. 2. In the third line, we should probably read a (ca) for Parab's ka (kva); then the jeṇa of the first line governs lines 1–3. If we read ka (kva), it must mean, I suppose, 'in whom.'

viii. 3^a. Apte (s.v. apa-vah) gives to apavāhayati in this passage the meaning 'cause to carry the yoke,' while JV. gives it the meaning 'beat' (tādayati). At any rate, it seems as if the causative should mean a little more than 'chase away' (Böhtlingk), especially in consideration of the case of goṇaṁ. For the accusative shows that the action of the verb as well as that of the gerund should be appropriate not only to the monk, but also to the bullock. At viii. 44¹ we have a parallel passage, in which vāhitaḥ (P., however, takes vāhīde to represent bādhi-taḥ) is used without apa; here too, JV. explains vāhitaḥ by tāditāḥ.

viii. 3⁴. The word āpānaka is used in the same sense of 'drinking party' at Nāgānanda iii. 2^a. For the red radish, compare the note on i. 52, above.

viii. 4. Böhtlingk's interpretation of the fourth line is, I think, correct: "(der Garten . . .) kann wie ein neu angetretenes Königthum genossen werden, ohne dass man es sich erst zu erobern brauchte"; but his interpretation of upabhogyā (in the PW.) as a noun seems unnecessary. It is more natural to take anirjitopabhogyam as a karmadhāraya 'to be enjoyed without having to be conquered (by one's own efforts).' Perhaps LD. is right in thinking that the viṭa intends to rebuke Saṁsthānaka's brutal conduct by contrasting it with the gentle invitation of the park.

viii. 4^s. The word dhanya means 1. blessed, 2. infidel; puṇya means 1. virtuous, 2. a brick watering-trough. This accounts for Saṁsthānaka's blunder in thinking that he has been called a materialist (cārvāka) and a brick trough (koṣṭhaka); but why he should add kumbhakāra, I am unable to see. The word is omitted by some authorities and is not present in LD.'s comment.

viii. 4¹². In Parab's text, delete the marks of punctuation after panti and pñāmi; for tahiṁ must refer back to jahiṁ. The reading -śavalāmi (-śabalāmi) of Stenzler and JV. seems preferable to the -śavaṇṇāmi (-savarṇāni) of Parab and Goda-bole, and has considerable authority. The expression in the last clause 'I will make you a man of one blow' seems very idiomatic; in x. 35¹⁰ we have the expression ekkappahāleṇa mālia.

viii. 5. The phrase dūram nigūḍhāntaram is very puzzling and the commentators are unsatisfactory. Perhaps it modifies vastrāntam and means '(the hem of the garment) by which the middle part is quite (dūram) concealed', that is, he has thrown the end so clumsily over his shoulder that it hides the greater part of the garment: but this seems very awkward. Assuming this explanation, the last two lines may be literally translated: "and he has not learned the (proper) arrangement of the yellow robe; and the hem of the garment, by which the middle part is quite concealed, loose because of the bagging of the cloth, does not fit on his shoulder."

viii. 6. We should expect vṛkṣamāṇsūhi, to correspond in formation with śilāśakalavarṣmabhiḥ; the epithets are curious enough.

viii. 10. This is one of the rare cases in which Saṁsthānaka's mythology is correct.

viii. 14^s. Instead of ayam āgataḥ, we should expect idam āgatam, since pravahana is neuter in Sanskrit; perhaps ayam refers to Sthāvaraka.

viii. 14²⁹. The expression hagge attanakelake na huviśsam is unusual; it seems to mean 'I shall not be my own any longer,' 'I shall be dead.'

viii. 17¹. The quotation is the last line of i. 31.

viii. 20. JV. takes daśaṇahuppalamāṇḍalehiṁ as a bahuvrīhi, 'whose lotus-heaps are ten finger-nails' (daśa nakhā utpalamaṇ-

ḍalāny utpalasamūhā yayos tābhyām); but it seems more natural to take it as a karmadhāraya, 'having ten finger-nails and discs like those of lotuses.' In the next line, cāḍuśadatāḍaṇa- is a karmadhāraya; JV. analyzes cāḍuśatāṇi priyavacanaśatāṇi 'va tādānāni prahārāḥ.

viii. 22. JV. gives to the words tuṣṭi kādum the meaning 'to do me a favor,' which is ingenious, and possibly correct.

viii. 22'. Here gandha means 'a mere smell,' 'a particle'; cf. the kāsikā on Pāṇini v. 4. 136: alpaparyāyo gandhaśabdaḥ. The same use of the word is found in Yogabhāṣya i. 48: na tatra viparyāśagandho 'py asti and iv. 15: nā 'nayoḥ saṅkara-gandho 'py asti; while Regnaud and Böhtlingk see the same meaning in raktagandhānuliṭam in x. 3: compare the note on that verse, below. Regnaud has called attention to the meaning 'a certain perfume' (caṇḍā) which the PW., on the authority of Amara and the Medinī, gives for rākṣasī, and sees a deliberate pun on the part of the author; the suggestion is both ingenious and convincing. JV. adds a further point by suggesting that Saṁsthānaka misunderstands the viṭa's use of akāryam; the viṭa means 'something that must not be done,' 'a sin,' but Saṁsthānaka takes him to mean 'something that cannot be done,' an impossibility, and so declares that it is not a witch after all.

viii. 24. Compare Manu viii. 86.

viii. 24'. Read palihiśśam for pahiliśśam.

viii. 28'. The word mallakka- (if, indeed, this be the correct spelling) here and at ix. 5²¹ has caused a good deal of trouble. The 'earlier commentary' (prācīnaṭikā) quoted by P. gives it the meaning 'a small vessel made of a leaf' (patrapuṭikā), and this is adopted by LD. JV. reads gallakka- and offers the meaning 'cur' (kukkura), but he quotes no authority, and on ix. 5²¹ he says that gallarka is a dialectic word for wine-vessel. In Māitreyā's speech at the very beginning of act i, and in v. 6² we have the same word, with the same Ms. variations between initial m and initial g, and between single and double k; in both places it must mean some kind of dish, and in v. 6² it must mean 'a drinking-vessel'; and that is doubtless the meaning which we have to accept in this passage.

viii. 29. This verse is repeated at ix. 7, with nitarām for sutarām.

viii. 30⁴. The Prākṛit nāśeṇa represents Sanskrit nyāśena and also nāśeṇa. The pun is obvious.

viii. 31. The words śevaaṁ and kaṣṭamaā are doubtful. Stenzler prints śe. vaam as two words, but in his chāyā gives te vayam; te would of course be de in Prākṛit, and this Böhlingk conjectures (p. 204). But the authorities speak overwhelmingly for śevaaṁ, Sanskrit sevakaṁ. Then Stenzler's chāyā understands kaṣṭamaā as equal to Sanskrit kṣaṭhamayāḥ rather than kaṣṭamayāḥ. Of course the ṭ speaks against this, but the meaning to be extracted from the words (te vyaṁ kṣaṭhamayāḥ) would then have to be that given by Böhlingk, "Are we to you men of wood?" This seems an unnatural rendering in itself, and has no support in the context. Certainly Vasantaśenā understands the speaker to make a comparison between himself and Cārudatta, to the disadvantage of the latter. Her sevitaṇḍyaḥ (vs. 33) takes up the sevakaṁ of the present verse, and her daridraḥ (vs. 33) refers back to kaṣṭamayāḥ. Saṁsthānaka asks her why she does not desire him, and why she prefers a poor man; she answers that the poor man's character is good, while his is bad. Probably, then, we must read kiṁ sevakaṁ kaṣṭamayā manuṣyāḥ, and render: "why are poor men the object of (your) devotion?" True, the matter would be simpler if we could read sevyante or sevyāḥ.

viii. 32. Stenzler prints the entire first line as one word; JV. divides khala caritaṇḍikṛṣṭa jātadoṣaḥ, though his comment offers the option between this division and that found in Parab's text. Godabole, as also P. and LD., prefer the division found in Parab. That this is the intention of the author is made probable by the parallelism between khalacarita and suacarita-caritam.

viii. 33². Of course the palāśa and the kiṁśuka are the same; the blunder on Saṁsthānaka's part is like that found in the last line of i. 41. I do not believe that the author intends a pun on the name of the demon Palāśa, as P. and LD. say; Böhlingk (p. 204) argues effectively against this view.

viii. 34. I have taken some liberties with this verse in my translation, in an effort to preserve something of the grim humor of this critical scene. I am afraid that it is rather risky to assume that the author, in using the name Dhundhumāra, plays on the other meaning of the word, namely the insect called indragopa.

viii. 35⁵. Parab's *chāyā* should read *mriyasva garbhadāsi mriyasva*. In Sanskrit, as in English, we lose the assonance of *mala gabbhadāsi mala* following *śumala gabbhadāsi śumala* in viii. 35³.

viii. 36. This verse and the next contain numerous difficulties. The second line means: "who (really) came to her death (*kāla*-) when, being in love, she came (thinking) to sport with him when he had come." In order to justify the accusatives of the first two lines, we must supply *hatvā*, as the Calcutta commentary and JV. observe. In the fourth line, the *chāyā* in Parab and Godbole renders *ñīśāse* by *ñiśvāsū*, and it is this rendering which is represented by my translation; but in Stenzler and JV. the *chāyā* has *ñiśvāse*, and that is of course what we should expect from the Prākṛit form of the word. The phrase then means: "(Why do I boast of my strength of arm?) She dies merely at my breathing." The *chāyā* in Parab, Godbole, and JV. takes *amba* to represent Sanskrit *ambā*, nominative, and this is precisely what we should expect; *ambā* or *āmbikā* 'mother' is used as a term of endearment, so e. g. at viii. 17¹⁶. But the short final vowel of the Prākṛit makes a difficulty, and this difficulty is not avoided by the reading of Stenzler's *chāyā*, *ambasmarā*.

viii. 37. The third line is desperate, so desperate that Regnaud does not attempt to translate it. Probably *mādeva* represents *māte 'va* (not *mātāi 'va*: Stenzler), as Parab's *chāyā* has it; the *iva* probably goes with *drāupadī* (*drāupadisadrśī mātā*, JV). We may tentatively translate the line: "my brother was disappointed of his honor, and my father, and my mother (who in this respect is) like that Drāupadī." This translation assumes the word-division *śevāvañcida bhādūke*, as Parab prints; but the line seems nearly hopeless.

viii. 37². This speech of the *viṭa*'s is very strange indeed, and I do not see that the matter is helped by the reading *pādayoh* for *pādapah*. The speech illustrates Böhtlingk's excellent observation (Vorwort, p. i): "Als eine Eigenthümlichkeit ist . . . auch dieses hervorzuheben, dass er . . . den Zuhörer oder Leser . . . auf bevorstehende wichtige Begebenheiten vorbereitet und dadurch die Ueberraschung zwar einigermaassen abschwächt, auf der anderen Seite aber auch die Neugier in hohem Grade reizt." But it seems as if this end were attained in the present case with unwonted awkwardness.

viii. 37¹⁸. For the expression, compare i. 30⁹.

viii. 38. JV. takes dākṣiṇyodakavāhini as an adjective modifying ratiḥ and suggests that the 'own region' (svadeśa) is the south (dakṣiṇa), because it is well known that rivers run south. On the feminine form āśraye, see above, p. 420.

viii. 40. This matter is printed by Stenzler as prose, by the other editions as a verse; if it makes a verse, as seems most probable, the readings of the other three editions are nearer the intent of the author than those adopted by Stenzler, since these latter destroy the meter. The text is desperately bad. In the second line, the editions all read śavoḍiam (or śabo-), but the explanations differ widely. Parab's chāyā has savoḍiṇam and P. says that a voḍī is a coin of less value than a kārṣāpaṇa; Stenzler's chāyā reads puṣṭim and JV.'s sapoṣaṇam; Godabole's chāyā reads saveṣṭikam and LD. explains veṣṭikā as meaning either 'turban' or 'loin-cloth'; in this explanation he agrees with the Calcutta commentary. One is tempted to prefer to all these readings and interpretations the reading of Stenzler's Ms. B.: śakoḍiam (sakotiṇam): in this case, Saṁsthānaka is made to say: "I'll give you wealth a hundred-fold, (I'll give you) a gold-piece, I'll give you a penny, (I'll give you) ten millions." In the third and fourth lines, my translation follows Parab's chāyā, except that it is necessary to read sāmānyakam to agree with doṣasthānam: "Let this heroism of mine be a cause of censure common to (all) men," a roundabout way of saying "Let the perpetrator of the deed remain unknown." But there is rather more authority for the reading of Godabole (with which JV. practically agrees): duṣaddāṇa phalakkame = duṣṣabdānām phalakramaḥ. Then the two lines mean: "Let this continued reward of evil words (due) to me be common to (all) men." The two readings thus give, at bottom, about the same sense.

viii. 42. I have taken jano 'yam in the ordinary sense of ayaṁ janaḥ: "I think myself unworthy, etc." JV. takes it to mean 'the average man' (sādhāraṇamānava), and the translators take it similarly; very likely they are right.

viii. 43. -sampanne: voc. fem., JV.; loc. neut., Regnaud, Böhtlingk.

viii. 43⁷. I understand aṇṇam as a Sanskrit anyām, modifying velām understood. Stenzler's chāyā has anyas (supply alam-kārah), the other editions have ājñā; yet Parab's punctuation seems to indicate that he understands the Prākṛit as I do.

viii. 43¹¹. As Böhtlingk points out (p. 205), we probably should read -kavodavāliāe (as in i. 51') instead of -padolikāe. JV. attempts to explain the reading of the Mss., but his attempt serves to confirm the suspicion that the Mss. are wrong: prāsādasya bṛhadatṭālikāyā bālāyām abhinavanirmitāyām agra-pratolikāyām pradhānarathyāyām.

viii. 46. I have taken pattra in the meaning 'leaf' in each of its three occurrences in the verse; this seems to be the understanding of P., who says pattrāṇy eva, 'like the leaves they are.' But the Calcutta commentary, LD., and JV. give to the words vistīrṇapattrāṇi . . . pattrāṇi 'va the meaning 'like birds whose wings are spread out'; it would be hard to find another instance of pattra meaning 'bird.' Böhtlingk takes a middle course in his translation: "diese ausgebreiteten Blätter regen sich, so meine ich, wie Federn hin und her." It is perhaps impossible to decide which interpretation is correct; the only thing that is certain is that there is a play on the word pattra.

viii. 46^a. According to LD. and JV., the fact that Vasanta-senā remembers the monk but does not remember her own benefaction to him, shows the nobility of her nature.

viii. 47. This matter (hattha- . . . ṇiccale) is printed by Parab as a verse; also by JV., who however gives it no verse-number. The nature of the matter (cf. note on iv. 29, above), and its position at the end of the act, make it *a priori* probable that it does form a verse. The text printed by Parab scans 15. 17: 12. 18; the last two lines form half of a regular āryā. If we read, with Stenzler and Godabole, hatthaśaṇḍadamuḥaśaṇḍada-, we obtain the scheme 13. 17: 12. 18. Thus we have the correct number of syllabic instants, which are irregularly distributed in the first half of the verse. In spite of this irregularity, it seems most probable that we have to do with a stanza in the āryā meter.

Act ix.

ix. 1. In the fourth line, the reading of Parab and Godabole does not scan correctly; if the first word is to be read gandhav-vehi, it seems as if the second should be śuvihidehiṃ. This is the text reproduced in my translation; but I have taken gandh-āvvehi as the representative of Sanskrit gāndharvāḥ, 'with gandharvic, well-turned limbs.' The fact that the Gandharvas

are male creatures and the persons mentioned in the third line female, need not trouble us, as the blunder may be attributed to Saṁsthānaka's ignorance. The reading of Parab and Godabole is better supported than the *gandhavve via śuhidehiṁ* of Stenzler (with which JV. practically agrees). The latter reading also gives a good sense, if we may take *śuhitāḥ* to mean *subhū-ṣitāḥ* (JV.) or *śobhitāḥ* (Calcutta commentary), or as the representative of *sukhitāḥ* (Böhtlingk, page 205).

ix. 2. In Parab's text, *khala-* is apparently a misprint for *khaṇa-*. I think it is better to take *mukke* (*muktāḥ*) in the sense of 'hanging loose' (*bandhanād bhraṇśitāḥ*, JV.) than in the sense of 'pearls' (Regnaud, Böhtlingk).

ix. 2¹. In *kivinaṣṭīam* (bis) there is perhaps a pun; the word means of course 'a wretched business,' but also perhaps 'a worm's business,' with reference to the *kīḍaṇa* above. The possibility that *kṛpaṇa* may here mean 'worm' is increased by the reading *kimīṇa-* (apparently = *kṛmīṇa-*) given by four Mss. and by P.

ix. 3. In commenting on the third line, JV. says that the king's judgment is confused by the exaggerations of the two parties, that he is therefore likely to decide a case wrongly, and that then he is subject to the penalty set forth in *Manu viii. 128* (disgrace and hell).

ix. 4. In the second line, I have translated as if *naṣṭā dhruvam* were the beginning of a new principal clause, but I am not at all certain that this is correct.

ix. 5. In the last line, *dvārbhāve* is puzzling. JV. takes it as a locative absolute, supplying *sati*, 'there being an expedient'; Böhtlingk interprets similarly. I have taken it as two words: 'a door (*dvār*, nom.) to truth,' but this is very doubtful. Godabole's Ms. K. has the reading *dvārbhyām vai*, which is much easier: '(his heart devoted to others' interests) in behalf of both parties (plaintiff and defendant)'.

ix. 5²¹. For *mallakkappamāṇāha*, cf. note on *viii. 28¹*.

ix. 7. This verse is repeated from *viii. 29*, with *nitarām* for *sutarām*. Parab, Godabole, and JV. print *sphītā* for *sphītāḥ*; this perhaps indicates that the reading *vipine* (given by a majority of the Mss.) for *sukṣetre* was the original reading, and that *sukṣetre* has crept in from *viii. 29*.

ix. 7⁷. JV. explains the curious word *pāśapiṇḍālakena* thus: *pāyasapiṇḍam dugdhapakvam annam paramānnam ity arthaḥ*,

tad rcehati prāpuṭī 'ti tena pāyasānnalobbhine 'ty arthaḥ: pāya-sānnaprāptaye lobhād yathā kriyate tathā mayā 'pī 'ty arthaḥ.

ix. 7°. With the Calcutta commentary, I take -sthāna in moghasthānayā as an abbreviation for alaṅkārasthāna; compare suṇṇāṁ āharaṇaṭṭhāṇāṁ in ii. 20°.

ix. 11. I take ghoram asaṁśayam as a little clause by itself: 'the dreadful thing is certain.'

ix. 14. P. seems to have read cintāmārga-. I have followed LD. in taking dūta- to mean 'attorney.' In the third line -vāsaka- is doubtless used with a double meaning. In reference to the herons, it means 'screaming,' and in reference to court-officers, it means 'slanderers, pettifoggers.' LD. has vāsakāḥ, śabdaṁ kurvāṇāḥ karṇajapāḥ piṣunā eva; similarly JV., who says: yāsakāḥ śabdaṁ kurvāṇā dhanapratāraṇārthaṁ vacanacaturāḥ khalā eva. I have adopted the reading -ruciram, which seems better than Parab's -racitam.

ix. 19. The verse is desperately hard, and no comment or translation is satisfactory. My translation aims to make sense, but does violence to the text. JV. makes the sense-connection between lines 2 and 3 by saying: cāṣāgrapakṣo hy upari vāriveraṇena malinībhavati tava mukhaṁ tu tadabhāve 'pī malinaṁ dr̥ṣyata iti bhāvaḥ. Accepting this, we may translate the verse thus: "You are not, like the wing-tip of the cāṣa, thoroughly wet by the waters of the clouds in the sky; (yet it seems so, because) this (accusation is) false—for (see!) this face of yours attains lacklusterness like the winter lotus." But this is sadly unsatisfactory.

ix. 22. The same conceit of leaving the ocean bare of gems by reason of great riches occurs in the Meghadūta, in the verses following i. 31 (regarded by Mallinātha as spurious).

ix. 23. The analysis which P. gives of the long compound is to be preferred to that of the other interpreters: pādaprahāreṇa paribhava ākramaḥ sa eva vimānāṁ tayā baddhiagurukavāirasya.

ix. 24°. The present participle viluppantaṁ (vilupyamānam) does not seem to correspond to the facts of the case; the reading viluppaṁ (viluptam) given by some Mss., seems preferable.

ix. 24°. Probably there is a little pun in lokavyavahārasya, which may mean 'the conduct of men,' or 'a law-suit in the world.' This I have tried to indicate in my translation.

ix. 29. The word *paravyasanena* causes difficulty. LD. (followed by Regnaud) interprets '(although beset) by terrible misfortune': *pareṇa vyasaneno 'palakṣito 'pi*; similarly the Calcutta commentary. JV. interprets 'with mere childish amusements': *pareṇa kevalena vyasanena bālyasulabhena kṛīḍanena*. Böhtlingk adopts this unusual meaning for *vyasana*, and accepts the alternative reading *bata* for *para*, which is mentioned by the Calcutta commentary and JV. I have taken *paravyasanena* to mean 'with the misfortune of another,' but this is certainly doubtful.

ix. 29^a. The translators have, I think, missed the point of *inassa*. Of course, this masculine form cannot refer to *Vasantasenā*, in spite of the *chāyā* in *Parab* and JV. The little clause means: "it was right (for her) to give him the jewels (to stop his crying, LD) but not (for me) to receive them."

ix. 30. Compare ix. 38.

ix. 30^a. There should be a mark of punctuation after *hetu-bhūtaḥ*.

ix. 30^b. I have taken *aṇiso* (which is not found in all the Mss.) to mean 'not master (of himself), mad'; but JV. explains it as *akṣamo daridra ity arthaḥ*. The Prākṛit *bhaṇḍā* may represent Sanskrit *bhāṇḍa* (*chāyā* in Stenzler, Godabole, and JV.) or *bhaṇḍa* (*chāyā* in *Parab*, and P.); if the former be intended, then *kidājanadosabhāṇḍā* must be a compound, meaning 'receptacle of crimes imputed to people'; if the latter, we may take the expression as two words (or as a *karmadhāraya*; so P.) meaning 'imputer of crimes to people, and buffoon.' The latter seems preferable to me.

ix. 33. The last *pāda* is found also in *Kumārasambhava* ii. 32. Whether this fact is or is not of importance in determining the relative dates of *Kālidāsa* and *Śūdraka*, I do not venture to say.

ix. 35^a. I have taken the first two words as an impatient exclamation: I do not believe that we have a play on words, as LD. and Regnaud suggest. My view is perhaps supported by JV., who prints *ābharanāni ā-*, without *sandhi*.

ix. 36. JV. and Böhtlingk takes the fourth *pāda* to mean that the wishes of the speaker will fall to the ground (be disappointed) when the lashes fall on *Cārudatta*; Wilson and I have understood the *pāda* to mean that the lashes descend together

with (in accordance with) the wishes of the speaker. I think now that the former interpretation is the better; a similar play on the root *pat* is found in ix. 31.

ix. 38. Compare ix. 30. In the third *pāda*, Parab's reading is excellent; but we must take *strī ratnam* as two words. Then the *pāda* means: "a woman, and especially a jewel (of a woman)."

ix. 39¹. As Böhtlingk points out (p. 209), the *tti* ought to stand at the end of the speech.

ix. 41¹. Although LD. says that *ambām* refers to Cārudatta's mother, it seems more probable that it refers to his wife, Rohasena's mother; for there is no reference elsewhere in the play to the mother of Cārudatta.

Act x.

x. i. The difficulties of this verse are diminished if we can regard *kālaṇa* as the representative of the Sanskrit *kāraṇām* 'pain.' We may then translate: "What then! Do not consider (*kalaya* = *vicāraya*, JV.) the pain; being adepts in the new-fangled managing of executions and fetherings, we are skilful in cutting off heads and impaling in short order."

x. 3. JV. explains *rakta-gandha-* by *raktacandana-*, and Regnaud's note (iv. 87) has the same suggestion. Böhtlingk takes *-gandha-* in the sense of 'trifle,' as above at viii. 22¹, 24¹⁸. I have supposed the word *rakta-gandhānuliṭtam* to contain a rather mixed, but striking, metaphor, 'anointed with the odor of blood.' Of these three interpretations, that of JV. and Regnaud is perhaps the best.

x. 11². This speech is quoted at *Daśarūpa* i. 46 (ed. Parab). and at *Sāhityadarpaṇa* 384; in both places there are many, but unimportant variants.

x. 12. Quoted at *Daśarūpa* i. 46; ii. 4; *Sāhityadarpaṇa* 384, with two variants; line 1, *yat* for *me*; line 3, *nidhana-* for *maraṇa-*. The commentary on the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* passage explains *nibīḍacāityabrahmaghoṣāḥ* as follows: *nibīḍāni lokāir ākīrṇāni yāni cāityāni: cāityam āyatanam tulye ity Amarah: pūjādyāyatanasthānāni teṣu ye brāhmaghoṣā vedavādās tāḥ*.

x. 12¹. The reading *udvījya* can hardly be a mere blunder, as it is explained by P., but it is surely inferior to the *udvikṣya* of the other texts.

x. 14. JV. reads *aśuvapaṇṇamaṇḍaṇaam* as one word, and explains it as an adverb 'without any golden ornament'; but this reading hurts the meter.

x. 17. Much better than the -*bhojanam* of all the editions is -*bhājanam*, conjectured by Böhtlingk (p. 209), and read by two of Godabole's Mss.

x. 19. Stenzler and JV. are doubtless right in reading *padicchidaṁ* (*pratīṣṭam*). JV. glosses the word with *yathābhilasitam*.

x. 20. The first line is desperate. My translation is based on Parab's text, accepting P.'s explanation of *pradeśāḥ* by *aṅgāni*, and presupposes the following literal translation: "his limbs are parched (i. e. he is as good as dead); why need he conduct himself with bended head?" This is obviously most unsatisfactory. Somewhat better are the readings and suggestions of JV., who agrees in part with LD. and the Calcutta commentary. He reads: *śukkhā vavadeśā śe kiṁ paṇamia matthae na kūavvaṁ* and explains: *asya cārudattasya vyapadeśāḥ kulānāmadayaḥ śuṣkā'luṭṭāḥ? asya ca kiṁ guṇādikam ity arthaḥ prāṇamya mastake na kartavyam? api tu sarvam eva prāṇatyāśirodhāryam ity arthaḥ: atha vā vyapadeśā vasantasenāvadhajānitāpavādāḥ śuṣkā mithyātvād ūropitā ity arthaḥ*.

x. 25. I interpret the second line as follows: "in which this death is actually (*api*) a gain." In the fourth line, the reading *tvayā* of Stenzler and Godabole is better than the *mayā* of Parab and JV. (but cf. the *mayā* in x. 33).

x. 25¹; 28²; 29¹. For *pāsādabālaggapadolikā*, cf. note on viii. 43^{9,11}, above.

x. 26. Cf. x. 38.

x. 27. For the construction, see above, p. 420.

x. 31. It is possible to separate *niṣkāraṇopagata bāndhava*, as Böhtlingk does, or, with JV., to take the word as a *karmadhāraya*.

x. 32⁸. I have followed Stenzler's *chāyā* and Böhtlingk in taking *śaṅkhalena* as the representative of Sanskrit *śṛṅkhalena*; but LD. and JV. translate it by *saṅkhalena* (*śāṅ-*), which they explain to mean 'a drum-stick.'

x. 33¹. There is nothing to show whether Cārudatta here repeats ix. 30 or ix. 38.

x. 33^s. In my translation, I have substituted the name Goha for its synonym *Vīraka*, as this is the only place where the latter is used.

x. 35. I think that Böhrling is right (p. 211) in making *veśam* = Sanskrit *veśaḥ*. Cf. also JV., who says: *veśa iva paricchada iva*.

x. 35^s. The matter from *utthanta-* to *attānaam* is printed by Godabole and JV. as a verse. The nature of the material makes it probable that they are right, though our text (ll. 17: 10. 17) does not quite fit the scheme of an *āryā*.

x. 35¹⁰. In spite of the tradition, Böhrling is probably right in thinking (p. 212) that *eavāsoṇṇadā* represents *ekapārśvonnatā*; but it does not seem necessary to substitute, with him, *nāṇh* (as at ii. 20^s) for *vasumdhārā*.

x. 35¹⁰. The phrase *uttāne bhavia* must mean 'lie flat,' not 'stehe gerade' (Böhrling) or 'tenez-vous bien raide' (Regnaud). The word *uttāna* means 'supine,' not 'erect,' besides, the erect position would be unnatural for the operation proposed. Then, at x. 40^s, *Cārudatta* stands up (*sahasro'tthāya*), which he could not do if he were already erect; and *Vasanta-senā*, who had fallen on his breast at x. 37^s, rises (*utthāya*) at x. 40^s.

x. 38. Cf. x. 26.

x. 41. Here *vidyā* means 'a spell for bringing the dead to life' (LD., JV.), i. e. *vidyā sañjīvanī*, as it is called in the *Mahābhārata*.

x. 43. It is interesting to note that *Jīmūtavāhana*, in the fourth act of the *Nāgānanda*, uses the red marriage garments as the insignia of death. Perhaps this passage and *Mṛcch. x. 43* stand in some connection with each other; if so, we have a suggestion for the placing of the *Mṛcchakatika*.

x. 46. Very likely there is a pun in the word *śeṣabhūtām*; the word may mean 'last,' and also 'being sacrificial flowers.'

x. 47. Stenzler's reading *surāreḥ* is supported by only one Ms., so that the reading *balāreḥ* is doubtless correct. LD., JV., and the Calcutta commentary explain *vasudhādhirājyam* as a *bahuvrīhi*; 'in which there is sovereignty over the whole world.' The last half of the verse means then: "he has obtained the entire kingdom of his enemy, implying sovereignty over the world, like the kingship of *Indra*."

x. 47¹. Böhtlingk suggests (p. 213) that we read *ayi* for *api* (*apikāro 'tra praśne*, JV.).

x. 48. The reading *nirīkṣe* is surely better than *nirīkṣye*.

x. 48¹. The words *atha vā* should be printed as part of the text, as in the editions of Stenzler and Godabole.

x. 51¹. The authorities read without exception *tatrabhavān*; but it seems as if we must change it to *atrabhavān*.

x. 53¹. I take *pāurāḥ*, with the other editions, as part of the stage-direction.

x. 54¹-57⁹. For the sake of completeness, I give a translation of Nilakanṭha's interpolation, which may be inserted between lines 23 and 24 on page 174 of my translation.

(Loud outcries are heard behind the scenes.)

Voices behind the scenes. See! The wife, the lady-wife of noble Cārudatta thrusts back her little son, who clings at every step to her garment's hem. The tearful bystanders would prevent her, yet she mounts the blazing pyre.

Śarvilaka. *(Listens and looks toward the back of the stage.)* Ah, Candanaka! what does this mean, Candanaka? *(Enter Candanaka.)*

Candanaka. Do you not see, sir? A great crowd has gathered to the south of the Royal Palace. The wife, the lady wife of noble Cārudatta thrusts back her little son, who clings at every step to her garment's hem. The tearful bystanders would prevent her, yet she mounts the blazing pyre. I said to her: "Madam, you must not act too hastily. The noble Cārudatta lives." But when the heart is full of sadness, who will listen, who will believe?

Cārudatta. *(In distress.)* Oh, my beloved! what would you do, while I yet live? *(He looks up and sighs.)*

Although thy life upon the earth,
My virtuous wife, seem little worth,
Yet joy in heaven thou canst not find,
If thou dost leave thy lord behind.

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(He swoons.)

Śarvilaka. What madness is this?

Yonder we needs must be so soon,
And here her husband lies in swoon;
Alas! we must confess it plain,
That all our efforts are in vain.

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Vasantasenā. Oh, sir, come to yourself. Go and bring her back to life. Otherwise a calamity will be begotten of this want of steadfastness.

Cārudatta. (*Comes to himself and rises hastily.*) Oh, my beloved, where are you? Give me answer.

Canlanuka. Follow me, sir. (*All move about. Enter Cārudatta's wife, as described; Rohasena, who clings to the hem of her garment; Maitreya; and Radanikā.*)

Wife. (*Tearfully.*) Let go, my child. Do not hinder me. I am fearful lest I hear of ill that happens to my lord. (*She rises, frees the hem of her garment, and moves toward the pyre.*)

Rohasena. Oh, mother, think of me! I cannot live without you. (*He runs up, and seizes again the hem of her garment.*)

Maitreya. The sages declare it a sin for you, a Brahman's wife, to mount the pyre without your husband's body.

Wife. Better to commit a sin than to hear of ill that happens to my lord.

Śarvilaka. (*Looks ahead.*) She is near the flame. Hasten, hasten! (*Cārudatta does so.*)

Wife. Radanikā, you must support my child, while I do what I purpose.

Radanikā. (*Mournfully.*) I too shall do what I have learned from my mistress.

Wife. (*Turning to Maitreya.*) Then you must support him, sir.

Maitreya. (*Impetuously.*) That your purpose may bear fruit, a Brahman must take the lead in this action. And so I shall precede you.

Wife. They both refuse me! (*She embraces Rohasena.*) My child, you must care for yourself, that you may give us the sesame and the water of sacrifice. Of what use are wishes, when one is gone! (*Sighing.*) For my lord will not care for you.

Cārudatta. (*Hears the words and hastens forward.*) Yes, I will care for my boy. (*He raises Rohasena in his arms, and clasps him to his breast.*)

Wife. (*Discovers him.*) A miracle! I hear the voice of my lord. (*She looks more closely. Joyfully.*) Thank heaven! It is my lord himself. Now heaven be praised!

Rohasena. (*Perceives his father. Joyfully.*) Oh, oh! It is my father that embraces me. (*To his mother.*) Mother, now you are happy. Father will care for me. (*He throws his arms about Cārudatta.*)

Cārudatta. (*To his wife.*)

While he thou lovest more than breath
Was yet reprieved from jaws of death,
Whereto this mad emprise?
Before the sun sinks in the west,
Why are the lotus' petals prest
Upon her sleeping eyes?

57

Wife. My lord, it is just because she is so thoughtless that she is kissed.

Māitreya. (*Discovers Cārudatta. Joyfully.*) Hurrah! These eyes see my friend. What power a faithful wife enjoys! The mere purpose to enter the fire brings a reunion with her love. (*To Cārudatta.*) Victory, victory to my friend!

Cārudatta. Come, Māitreya! (*He embraces him.*)

Radanikā. What a wonderful providence! Sir, I salute you. (*She falls at Cārudatta's feet.*)

Cārudatta. (*Lays his hand upon her.*) Rise, Radanikā! (*He helps her to rise.*)

Wife. (*Perceives Vasantasenā.*) Thank heaven! My blessed sister.

Vasantasenā. Now am I blest indeed. (*They embrace.*)

Śarvilaka. Thank heaven! You live, with all your friends.

Cārudatta. Yes, through your gracious aid.

x. 54⁵. On pade, JV. says: pade pratipada ity arthah.

x. 56⁷. On bhīṇattanaṇa, JV. has: bhinnatvena pṛthaktvena: tad uktam Uśanasā yathā: pṛthak cītiṃ samāruhya na viprā gantum arhati: anyāsām eva nārīṇāṃ strīdharmo 'yam paraḥ smṛtaḥ iti.

x. 57²⁰. We should expect the dual: tāu cāṇḍālāu . . . bhavatām.

x. 59. Under stress of meter, I have omitted the words kās cin nayaty ākulān, which mean 'keeps some in suspense,' and applies, like the other expressions of the first two lines, both to people and to buckets.

The Buddhistic Rule Against Eating Meat.—By E. WASHBURN HOPKINS, Professor in Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

THE fact asserted in Mr. H. Fielding Hall's *People at School* (1906) that, although in the old days "it was immoral to take life, wicked to eat meat and connive at butchery," it is now the custom for Burmese Buddhists to do as they like in regard to eating ("Every one eats meat, even the monks," p. 257), is explained by the author as a new departure, due to the stimulating effect of the presence in Burma of the British beef-eater. Is it not, in reality, a reversal in favor of a rule of greater freedom? Perhaps it is true that the Burman has but lately found out for himself that the "religion of Necessity" is better than the religion of Buddha as hitherto understood, for a progressive Burman may have to eat well to compete with British energy; but it is matter of interest to inquire just how strict in ancient times was the law against eating meat.

The great Protestant of India was no formalist. According to the Vinaya, which seems rather to reflect the Master's attitude than really to give his words as it pretends to do, Buddha was perpetually harassed by imbecile friars, whose childish questions he always answered in a spirit of liberality and common sense. Even later works show that to observe the spirit and not the letter was the Buddhistic ideal. What is said of verse may be applied to law,

atthañ hi nātho saranam avoca
na bhyañjanam lokavidū mahesi,

"The all-wise Lord declared that salvation lies in the spirit and not in the letter" (Comm. Khuddaka Pāṭha, v). Thus, for example, the general rule against suicide emanated from the view that a saint ought to remain on earth as a good example; yet, in special circumstances, Buddha is represented as approving of suicide, as in the case of the Elder Godhika. Here it is only the Evil One who objects to the act, on the ground that to cut one's own throat argues a perfected saint (one indifferent

to life), and that it is undesirable for the Evil One thus to lose possession of the good Elder.¹

So also the early Church, in the case of killing and eating, appears to have been less strict than the later. The later Brahmanic law, like that of the Jains, was very particular in regard to these points. Except for sacrifice, to kill no sentient thing and to eat no meat were absolute priestly laws. Even starvation was barely an excuse for breaking these regulations, though the class that did as it pleased despite the priests was reluctantly conceded the right to hunt wild animals, and the priest even found mythological reasons which made it meritorious for a 'king's man' to kill deer as well as men. People outside the pale of respectability, fishers, fowlers, tanners, etc., were also contemptuously permitted to remain in their odor of non-sancity. But for a priest even necessary agriculture was deprecated, 'because the plough hurts living things.' That this 'non-injury' rule was Buddhistic in origin is contrary to the evidence. Even the oldest Brahmanic law, which is at least as venerable as any Buddhistic literature, inculcates the general moral rule of doing as one would be done by in the matter of injuring, killing, and eating one's brother-animal.

Nevertheless, there are traces of a condition of things much freer than this in the Brahmanic circle of a still earlier day. In *Āit. Br.* iv. 3, man is said to eat, as well as rule over, cattle: *puruṣaḥ paśuṣu pratiṣṭhito 'tti cāi'nān adhi ca tiṣṭhati* (on paśu as implying cattle, cf. vi. 20). It is a Brahman priest who says that he eats beef if it is off the shoulder (? *aṃsalam*, *Śat. Br.* iii. 1. 2. 21). The common people are said at the same period to be omophagous, *āmād* (*Kāpva* text, *ib.* iv. 5. 2. 16), and the king has at least no scruples in regard to wearing leather sandals, *vārāhyā upānahā*, *ib.* v. 4. 3. 19. Leather fastenings are also alluded to in *Āit. Br.* v. 32. Brahman butchers are well known, even in the Buddhistic period.² The formal law-books permit the eating of many animals, birds, and fishes, although they denounce the sin of eating meat (see particularly *Gāutama*,

¹ For the rule, see the *Pātimokkha* and Rhys-Davids on the Questions of Milinda; for the case of Godhika, Warren, *HOS* 3, p. 381.

² Compare *Jātaka* No. 495 (*Fick, Soc. Glued*, p. 141). Compare also the casual allusion to a butcher-shop in *Jāt.* No. 330. In *Jāt.* No. 423 a Brahman lives by hunting deer.

xvii, Bāudh. xii, and Manu v). But perhaps casual allusions reveal more than do the law-books. Convincing, for example, is Tāṇḍya Br. xvii. 13. 9: "Clothed in a fresh garment he comes up from the initiation-bath and during four months neither eats meat nor has intercourse with a woman." That is as much as to say, when not in a state of special purity one is expected to eat meat. Compare Śat. Br. x. 1. 4. 13.

Similarly, although the Buddhist accepts and further promulgates, in his own decrepit dialect, the law "not to kill and not to cause killing," it is evident that the law, if not late, was at first not taken very strictly. Possibly, just as the Brahmanic classes ('castes') were recognized, but without the Brahmanic rigidity, which did not usually distinguish between letter and spirit, so Brahmanic morality was, as an inheritance, not disregarded; but at the same time it was not so narrowly interpreted. Among the many things which, according to the Buddhists' scriptures, "people" (that is, non-Buddhist people) objected to in the conduct of the Buddhists was disregard of the life of sentient beings. According to the same indisputable testimony, people once found a Buddhist friar killing—of all animals—a calf, and several times they complained that "followers of the Buddha" hurt and killed living things. Even as an artistic background to the introduction of stricter rules, these tales, preserved in the Buddhists' own books, can scarcely be supposed to be made of whole cloth. There was some reason for the tale and for the introduction of the more stringent rule. And the reason was probably that, while Buddha really endorsed the rule *Na hanaye na ghātaye*, "Let one kill not, nor cause killing," neither he nor the early Buddhists interpreted it so strictly as the Brahman was inclined to do. It is very seldom, for example, that we find the addition "nor approve of others killing" (*Dhammika Sutta*). To the Buddhist of the early days, meat was not forbidden, though it was a work of supererogation to abstain from it. Meat was a delicacy and it was not proper for an abstemious friar to indulge in any delicacies. On the other hand, to take a vow not to eat meat was unusual; it was distinctly an extra effort in 'acquiring merit.'¹ The house-holder is

¹ The *Pātimokkha* prohibits meat and fish merely on the ground that they are delicacies. The rules for novices contain no injunction against eating meat. On the early usage among the friars, see Professor Rhys-Davids' *Buddhism*, p. 164.

distinguished from the ascetic in this, that the latter has no wife and does not destroy life, while the former has a wife and does destroy life (Muni Sutta). The rule of the 'King of Glory' is not a narrow one against meat; it is one of extreme liberality, 'Eat as you have been accustomed to eat.'¹ There is a whole sermon devoted to the expansion of the text, 'defilement comes not from eating meat but from sin' (*Āmagandha Sutta*), which, as it seems to me, rather implies that meat was pretty generally eaten (though the practice was looked upon by the stricter sort as culpable) than that it was not eaten at all. Buddha himself (perhaps) died of eating pork, the flesh of a wild boar, an idea so abhorrent to later Buddhism that the words *sūkara-maddava*, 'boar-tender' (-loin ?) was interpreted either as a sauce or as a vegetable eaten by a boar; some said bamboo-sprouts, other said a kind of mushroom, although no sauce or vegetable is known by the name of 'boar-tender.'²

It is in the light of such facts as these that the oft-repeated rule "not to keep a store of raw meat" is to be interpreted. The rule is generally given in connection with other purely sumptuary regulations, such as not to keep a store of raw rice, and far from seeming to prohibit meat it appears to imply its use, the real prohibition being not against meat (any more than against rice), but against the possession of a superfluous store. Thus in the *Gandhāra Jātaka*, No. 406, it is said that a store of salt and sugar even for one day, *punadiva*, used to be condemned, but now Buddhists hoard even for the third day.

Notable examples of freedom in respect of eating meat are to be found in the *Mahāvagga*, which gives other illustrations of liberality. Thus, as to the other, we are told that, in the northern country, for Buddhists to bathe more than once a fortnight is a sin, but in the southern country they may bathe more frequently, because it is the custom of the country. Here there is no climatic necessity for the change, since what is called

¹ Literally, "Ye shall eat as has been eaten" (*Mahāsudassana Sutta*).

² Compare the Questions of Milinda, iv. 8. 22 and the discussion as to bamboo, mushrooms, or sauce, *Sacred Books of the East*, xxxv, p. 244. Boar flesh is common village-meat. Compare what the pigs say in *Jāt.* No. 388: *maṃsatthāya hi posiyāmaṣe*, "we are fattened for our flesh" (p. 289), and further references below, p. 462. Still, some plant-names begin with 'boar-' and Buddha ought to have the benefit of the doubt.

'northern' and 'southern' is practically in the same clime. A still better case is afforded by the similar regulation as to coverlets. In the northern and middle part of the country, because it is there customary to have coverlets made of vegetable matter, the Buddhists are to follow this custom; but when they go south, where (as in Ujjain) people use animal skins as coverlets, there they may use animal skins—a tacit condonation of the slaughter of animals. As a medicinal remedy the Buddhist may take intoxicating liquors¹ and the flesh and blood and fat of bears, alligators, swine, and asses. But a rule found in the same work, vi. 31. 14, goes much further than this and really gives the gist of the whole matter in permitting the use of meat, if not killed for the express purpose of feeding the Buddhist. The same rule holds as to fish. The Buddhists may eat it if they "do not see, do not hear, do not suspect" that the fish was caught especially for their use (*ibid.*). Elephants' flesh and that of horses may not be eaten in time of famine, but this is because they are parts of the "attributes of royalty";² nor that of dogs and snakes, but because such meat is disgusting. Absolutely forbidden at such a time is only the flesh of human beings³ and of other carnivora (*ib.* vi. 23. 9 ff.).

In regard to hurting sentient things, Brahmanism holds theoretically that even trees, plants, and grasses are kinds of animals. They differ only in being stable (fixed) instead of mobile; but a long argument which I have cited elsewhere from the Great Epic shows that plants really see, hear, feel, and smell, as well as possess the more obvious sense of touch, and that, therefore, they are living, conscious things, endowed like other animals

¹ A century after Buddha's death the Buddhist church (according to tradition, Cullavagga, xii. 1) discussed the question whether it was permissible to drink *unfermented* toddy. The Buddhist was a teetotaler, as was (ordinarily) the Brahman priest, but in this regard the church as a whole appears to have been much stricter than the orthodox Hindus (not of the priestly caste), who have always been addicted to intoxicants. Even Brahman priests, north of the Nerbudda, were rum-drinkers. Bāudh. I. 2. 4.

² Compare Jātaka No. 397, p. 322, *assā nāma rājabhogā*, "horses are kings' property."

³ Cannibalism has left its trace in India in the stories of flesh-eating Yakkas and Piśācas, natives of the Gilgit region (Dr. Grierson, in JRAS. Jan. 1906; Jātaka, 537).

with their own part of the *anima mundi*. This, sociologically, is the older view as contrasted with that of the Buddhists, who hold that a tree, for example, is 'conscious' only as containing a living being (a dryad). Plants in themselves possess only one organ of sense (feeling). So there is naturally less horror of injury to plant-life (as plant) among Buddhists than among non-Buddhists (the Brahmins and their followers),¹ though rebirth as a plant is more a theoretical possibility than an actual probability to both parties of believers in Karma. According to a rather late compendium of heresies, the Brahmajāla Sutta, the Buddhist recluses, despite the tightening bonds of conventional friarhood, still continued to injure growing plants, though it was wrong to do so, as it was wrong "to accept raw meat" and to kill living things. This reveals that raw meat was accepted often enough to make it worth while to animadvert upon the practice. But even this Sutta (like the rules for novices) does not prohibit the eating of meat.

In the Edicts of Asoka there are several injunctions against cruelty, but it is ordered merely that (even for sacrifice) no animals be killed "in future," with a recommendation to respect the sacredness of life. Yet it is evident from the Fifth Pillar Edict that the killing of animals was not unusual. Certain animals in the twenty-seventh year of Asoka's reign were made exempt from slaughter, as were "all quadrupeds which are not eaten or otherwise utilized by man," a clear intimation that previously the slaughter of animals was not uncommon and that "the more complete abstention from injury to animate creatures and from slaughter of living beings" was, as proclaimed in the Seventh Pillar Edict, brought about by Asoka, that is, a couple of centuries after Buddha's death.²

¹ There is, unfortunately, no common name for the Brahmanized horde as there is for the followers of Buddha. I have sometimes for the horde used 'orthodox,' as the Brahmins (i. e. the priests) use heterodox ('unbelievers') especially of the Buddhists; but the orthodox were anything but a united fold, though they called themselves all, as against Buddhists, 'believers.' On plants as 'having only one organ,' see Mahāvagga iii. 1. 2.

² The Edicts, however, are not for Buddhists alone but for all the realm and in this particular may be aimed against Brahmanic (now heterodox! see the last note) rather than Buddhistic practices. Nevertheless, as no party distinction is made it may be presumed that the Buddhists also needed a stricter rule. In connection with Brahmanic practices, it must be noticed that beef-eating in the Mahābhārata, though common, is confined to ceremonial (sacrificial) consumption.

The Jātakas contain numerous instances revealing great freedom in respect of flesh-eating. For example, the Bodhisat as Śakka, in the Kumbha-Jātaka, forbids the use of intoxicants, but permits the enjoyment of flesh (*maṁsodanaṁ sappipāyāsaṁ bhuñja*; No. 512, p. 20). So in Jāt. No. 528, p. 235, the Bodhisat as a mendicant, *mahābodhiparibbājako*, eat the flesh of a monkey, *makkatamaṁsaṁ khāditvā*, and uses its skin as a robe, though only in order to inculcate a lesson. In its Sanskritized form, in the Jātakamāla, this monkey appears as an illusion (perhaps because of the audience; much as the "fatted calf" is discreetly omitted from another parable in India at the present day) and the Bodhisat merely "removes a skin made by himself" and then wears it, after causing the flesh to disappear (*cārmā'paṇiya śeṣaṁ antardhūpayāṁ āsa*; *sa tannirmittaṁ vānara-carma bibhrat*, etc. HOS. 1, p. 147, l. 19). That the deer is a warrior's natural food is admitted in a casual remark addressed to a priest, Jāt. No. 483, p. 273, *annaṁ migo brāhmaṇa khatti-yassa*; but though a king hunts it is meritorious to renounce the sport and devote oneself to charity. In No. 504, p. 437, the king hunts not only deer but wild boar, *migaśūkarādayo vadhitvā*, and eats broiled venison, *aṅgārappakkaṁ migamaṁsaṁ*. In No. 315, the Bodhisat gets a wagon-load of venison as a gift; but he takes the hunter from his cruel occupation, *luddaka-kamma*. In No. 12, a king is persuaded to stop killing deer and all other animals. To eat the flesh of a golden peacock, *moro*, which gives eternal youth and immortality (ib. 159 and 491) is perhaps too great a temptation to allow of its being cited as an example; yet the peacock was not forbidden food either to the Brahman (Bāudh. I. 12. 7) or to the pre-Asokan Buddhist (v. note, loc. cit. S.B.E). Jāt. Nos. 451 and 496 reveal that meat-eating is almost a matter of course, even on the part of the Bodhisat, who in No. 199 eats beef, *gomaṁsaṁ*; while the forest-ascetic (No. 496, p. 371, st. 280) says "I eat meat," just as he speaks of eating jujubes, lotus, etc.: *sākaṁ bhisāṁ madhuṁ maṁsaṁ badarāmalakāni ca, tāni ābhatva bhuñjāmi atthi me so pariggaho*. In the introduction to the Sulasā Jātaka, No. 419, we have a scene depicting a pleasure-garden, where thieves and servants indulge in fish, flesh, and intoxicants, *macchāmaṁsasurādāni*, which shows the vulgar popularity of flesh-food. But in No. 436 a noble lady of Benares is fed on ghee,

rice, fish, and flesh (p. 527, l. 22) by the demon who would woo her. Compare No. 434, where meat is eaten as a dainty. Large bags of leather, 'mahante cammapasibbake, to hold money, are referred to in No. 336. Leather is used to make chariot-harness (No. 22) and the clothing of a mendicant, *cammasūṭako paribbājako*, in No. 324. Roast pig is used to celebrate a marriage-feast (Nos. 30 and 286) and roast lizard is recognized as good food (in No. 333); though it is a false Buddhist ascetic, *dussilatāpaso*, who in Nos. 138 and 325 is fond of such diet. But crow's meat is sent (as earnest of better) to the Bodhisat by the king in No. 214, and in No. 220 the scholiast tells a story (to illustrate a Jātaka verse) which implies that a king regularly ate meat (animals might be slaughtered in Benares any day except on fast-days). No. 241, p. 245, even notes the occasion on which, according to tradition, men who had eaten all the fresh meat they could, first began to dry it: *tasmim kila kāle vallūrakaraṇaṃ udapāditi vadanti*. A very good example of the casual, matter-of-course way in which meat-eating is referred to will be found in Jātaka No. 106 (p. 417), wherein a young man is advised by his father, the Bodhisat, not to marry, simply because he will have to run errands for his wife: "When she wants to eat fish or meat or has need of ghee or salt or rice, etc." (and sends you to do her errands), *yadā macchamamsādīni vā khādītukāmā bhavissati sappilonatanḍulādīhi vā pan' assā attho bhavissati*. Here the worldly fat girl is imagined as eating meat as naturally as salt, etc.

The whole matter of meat-eating is epitomized in the verse ascribed to the Bodhisat in the Telovādo Jātaka (No. 246):

bhuñjamāno pi sappañño na pāpena upalippati,

that is, according to the context, if one who has divine wisdom eats fish or meat, even when he knows it is prepared for him, he does no wrong.² Not meat-eating per se, not the fact that meat

¹ The common use of leather, as Prof. Bloomfield remarked when this paper was read, has been recently exemplified by excavations made in the Northern deserts. Leather nooses are made in Jāt. 206 (p. 153).

² In the exaggerated language of the Bodhisat, one may even eat the flesh of the donor's wife or child. Only the slayer is sinful, not the eater. The comment is: *samaṃsakaṃ bhattam adāsi . . . samaṇo Gotamo jānaṃ uddissa-kaṭaṃ maṃsaṃ bhuñjati*, "He gave meat-food . . . Gotama the ascetic knowingly eats meat prepared especially for him." Buddha here accepts in full the precepts of the Bodhisat.

was prepared especially for the eater, not even the fact that the latter knows of the circumstances, makes the eater guilty of sin. But he must eat with no evil in the heart, no indulgence of appetite.¹ With the same liberality, which distinguishes the ethics of Buddha from that of his ascetic rivals, we find the rule that no evil Karma attaches to an act of unintentional wrongdoing, as laid down in the Kuru-dhamma of Jātaka No. 276 (p. 377), acetanakaṃ kammaṃ na hoti, the Brahmanic rule being that there must be expiation for unintentional as for intentional sin.² Devadatta, Buddha's rival, permitted no eating of flesh-meat; Buddha permitted it with restrictions as to the spirit in which it was eaten. In other words, early Buddhism was opposed to this form of asceticism as to other austerities, which in themselves are valueless.³

The great distinction between killing and eating may seem rather pharisaical, but it existed. To kill an animal, to be butcher, fowler, or fisher, was wrong, and to connive at slaughter in order to gratify appetite was also wrong.⁴ But when the beast had been killed without prior connivance on the part of the Buddhist the flesh might be accepted and eaten. The early Buddhist seems to have thought that, as the animal was dead anyway, he might as well make use of it and did not trouble his conscience with questions of 'tainted' offerings. If uncommonly ascetic he might refuse it as being a delicacy, but not because meat as meat constituted sinful diet. Probably the later accession of Brahmanical converts tended to the greater strictness of the Buddhist in this regard, until he came to say

¹ Compare the passage (cited by Mr. Rouse at this place in his translation) from Hardy's *Manual*, p. 327: "Those who take life are in fault, but not the persons who eat the flesh. My priests [in contrast with those of Devadatta] have permission to eat whatever is customary to eat in any place or country, so that it be done without the indulgence of appetite, or evil desire." The Cullavagga on this point, vii. 3. 14, mentions only fish, but the contention is the same.

² Compare with this No. 528 (p. 287): akāmakaraṇīyasmiṃ kuv-idha pāpena lippati. For the Brahmanic rule, see JRAS. July, 1906, p. 584.

³ See the Majjhima Nikāya, pp. 77-8, for a catalogue of useless austerities.

⁴ Compare Jāt. No. 506 (p. 458), where the king-snake refuses to eat frogs especially killed for him, with the idea "n'esa maṃ nissāya māressatīti" (na khādati), "not for my sake shall he kill."

with St. Paul 'If eating meat my brother do offend I will eat no more meat.' The theory of transmigration had, I imagine, little to do with the matter either with Buddhists or with Brahmans; though Buddha admits that a man may be reborn as an animal, for, in speaking of the death of a perfected saint, he couples together, as the fruit of such saintliness, the destruction of "hell and rebirth as an animal." The *Jātakas*, too, recognize man's rebirth as a beast, but these are not of the earliest Buddhist era, and, generally speaking, the primitive Buddhist is reborn as man and, if not, he is more likely to reappear as an unfathered divinity in consequence of virtue than as an animal in consequence of evil.¹ At any rate, man's rebirth as an animal (with a possible cannibalism) is never suggested as a reason why a Buddhist should not eat meat, although the Brahmanic view was that the animal later would eventually take revenge by eating (in another life) the former eater. Yet even here the idea is not that one should abstain from flesh through fear of eating a reincarnated relative.

To take life, in distinction from eating meat, results in going to hell or in rebirth either as an animal, a ghost, pettivisaye, a demon, asurakāye, or a human being of short life, appāyukasaṃvattanikaṃ (hoti ti, 'said the Bodhisat'), *Jāt.* 55 (p. 275).

¹ On the knotty question as to how a future Buddha could be born as an animal, cf. *Jātakamāla* xxxiii. st. 3. Despite his sufficient wisdom dhammasañjñi 'pi, he had acquired "bits of (evil) Karma," karmaleśāṇs tāṇs tān samāsāḍya, which reduced him to a beast. The Bodhisat himself explains rebirth in animal form as due to neglect in a previous life to perform good works (kusalakammasa akattatā), as he says *Jāt.* 31 (p. 205, lines 1 and 7, to *Sujātā*): tvaṃ pana kusalaṃ akatvā tiracchāṇayoniyaṃ nibbattā. The same question arises in regard to the sins committed by Bodhisattas, such as reverting to sensuality (*Jāt.* 251), keeping and knocking down his wife (No. 199), seducing a girl (No. 62), or even leading a band of robbers. In the last case the *Jātaka*-maker ascribes such faults rather vaguely "to the stars," nakkhattadosena, *Jāt.* No. 279 (p. 389), apparently forgetful of the Bodhisat's own words, kiṃ karissanti tārakā (No. 49, *Nakkhatta-Jāt.*). Rather an interesting statement is made in *Jāt.* 431 (p. 499), to the effect that on some (unexplained) occasions, ekaccesu ṭhānesu, Bodhisats may destroy life, commit adultery, and drink intoxicants, surā; but they may not tell deceitful lies, musāvādo, which destroy the reality of things. Truth is the highest virtue. In mediaeval Sk. literature abstention from meat is a sign of virtue, as in the *Hitopadeśa*, where, more specifically, eating meat "on the Lord's day" (1. 3) is unlawful.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,

AT ITS
MEETING IN NEW HAVEN, CONN.

1906.

The annual meeting of the Society was held in New Haven, Conn., on Tuesday and Wednesday of Easter week, April 17th and 18th, in the Library of the Classical Club, in Phelps Hall.

The following members were present at one or more of the sessions:

Allen, F. S.	Carus	Jackson, A. V. W.	Morris, Miss
Allen, Miss	Currier	Jackson, J. D.	Müller
Arnold, W. R.	Gottheil	Jastrow	Oertel
Barton	Gray	Jewett	Palmer
Blake	Grieve, Miss L. C. G.	Lanman	Quackenbos
Blodgett	Haas	Lilley	Ropes
Bloomfield	Harper	Lyon	Torrey
Bolling	Haskell	Moore, G. F.	Toy
Brown	Hock	Moore, J. H.	Van Name
Campbell	Hopkins	Moore, Mrs. G. F.	Ward, W. H.
Total 40.			

The first session began on Tuesday morning at eleven o'clock, with President Gilman in the chair.

The minutes of the last annual meeting, held in Springfield, Mass., April 27th and 28th, 1905, were read in abstract by the Recording Secretary, having already been printed in the twenty-sixth volume of the Society's Journal.

The Committee of Arrangements, through Professor Hopkins, presented its report in the form of a printed programme. Professor Torrey announced that the Graduates' Club extended its privileges to the members of the Society during their stay in New Haven; that a luncheon would be given by the New Haven members of the Society on Wednesday at one o'clock,

to the men, at the Graduates' Club, while the ladies in attendance on the meeting would be entertained at the same time, at the Country Club, by Mrs. Hopkins and Miss Whitney; and that arrangements had been made for a dinner on Wednesday evening at half past seven, at the Tontine Hotel.

The succeeding sessions of the Society were appointed for Tuesday and Wednesday afternoons at half past two o'clock, and for Wednesday morning at half past nine.

The Corresponding Secretary, Professor E. W. Hopkins, reported as follows:

Letters of acceptance have been received from all those elected to membership at the last Meeting. Greetings were sent to Dr. James C. Hepburn and a reply received.

In response to an invitation from the Philosophical Society to send a delegate to represent this Society at Philadelphia during the Franklin Bicentenary exercises, President Gilman consented, at the Secretary's request, to act as our representative.

In accordance with the order of the Directors, the Journal of the Society has been copyrighted.

The Ethnological Survey P. I. has been added to the list of exchanges.

The death of the following members of the Society was reported:

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Professor Jules Oppert.
Professor Friedrich von Spiegel.

CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Mr. Clarence H. Clark.
Dr. P. L. Armand de Potter.
Samuel Fales Dunlap.
President William Rainey Harper.
Rev. Lauren P. Wolfe.

MEMBER OF THE SECTION FOR THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF RELIGIONS.

Professor George S. Goodspeed.

CORRESPONDING MEMBER.

Rev. Joseph Edkins.

Tributes were paid to Professor Oppert, by Professor Gottheil; to President Harper, by Professor Toy; and to Professor Spiegel, by Professor Jackson.

The report of the Treasurer, Professor F. W. Williams, was read by Mr. J. D. Jackson.

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS BY THE TREASURER OF THE
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR
ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1905.

The Treasurer in presenting his report makes mention of the fact that he has been obliged again this year to draw upon the reserves of the Society by withdrawing \$500 to meet the cost of the annual volume from the accumulated interest of the Cotheal Publication Fund. The Society in order to get upon a safe basis should either increase its income or reduce its present expenditure by about three hundred dollars annually.

RECEIPTS.

Balance from old account, Dec. 31, 1904,-----		\$ 772.53
Dues (179) for 1905	\$895.10	
“ (47) for other years	235.18	
“ (19) for Hist. S. R. Sect.	38.00	
	-----	\$1,168.28
Sales of publications	120.36	
State Nat. Bank Division	108.88	
Interest Suffolk Savings Bk.	11.06	
“ Prov. Inst. for Savings	53.51	
“ National Savings Banks34	
Subscriptions collected for Subvention	95.00	
	-----	1557.43

		\$2,329.96

EXPENDITURES.

T., M. & T. Co., printing vol. XXV ⁿ	\$572.13
“ “ “ vol. XXVI ⁿ	779.79
“ paper	87.78
“ sundry printing	36.44
Binding	21.80
Library cards and stamp	13.75
Subvention to Orient. Bibliographie	95.48
Honoraria to editors	200.00
Librarian, postage and express	20.88
Treasurer, “	19.12
Balance to general account	482.79

	\$2,329.96

STATEMENT.

	1904	1905
I. Bradley Type Fund (N. H. Savings Bank)	\$2,192.52	\$2,297.44
II. Cotheal Publication Fund (Pr. Inst. Savings)	1,000.00	1,000.00
III. State National Bank Shares	1,950.00	1,950.00
IV. Life Membership Fund	225.00	300.00
V. Connecticut Savings Bank deposit	5.52	5.52
VI. National Savings Bank deposit	10.50	10.50
VII. Accrued Interest in II	516.12	69.63
VIII. “ “ IV	69.98	81.04
IX. “ “ VI34	.34
X. Cash on hand	67.68	331.78
	-----	-----
	\$6,037.32	\$6,046.25

The report of the Auditing Committee, Mr. J. D. Jackson and Mr. A. P. Stokes, was presented by Mr. Jackson, and is as follows:

April 16th, 1906.

In the absence of my colleague, Mr. Anson Phelps Stokes, Jr., I have made the audit of the accounts of the American Oriental Society and hereby certify that I have examined the account book of the Treasurer of the society and have found the same correct, and that the foregoing statement is in conformity therewith.

I have also compared the bills and vouchers and statement of balances accompanying the same and have found them to be correct.

JOHN DAY JACKSON,
Auditor for the Society.

The Librarian, Professor Hanns Oertel, presented his report, as follows:

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

In the past winter foundations were laid on the University Campus for a new building planned as the beginning of an eventual complex of University library buildings. It immediately adjoins the present Chittenden Library and will occupy the space between the latter and the Old University Library. The new building covers some fifty thousand odd square feet, will accommodate at least four hundred thousand books and will also contain the executive offices of the librarians and a number of consultation rooms. The main part of the building will consist of a compact book stack of six tiers, arranged on the one hand to be accessible to the various reading rooms and consultation rooms, and also arranged that parts of the stack can be sectioned off and used for the deposit of such works as from their value or character need not be open to the general body of students for consultation. It is proposed thus to create a section of the stack for the library of the American Oriental Society, insuring the Society's books being kept together under lock and key, and still readily accessible to its members. The stack will of course be absolutely fire-proof, well lighted during the day by natural light from the west, and by electric light during the evening hours. Well-lighted tables will be placed in the stack and in immediate proximity to the books, where the members of the Society may consult its books free from interruption. The expansion of the library will be provided for, so that as long as the books of the Society are in deposit in the University Library they will be kept together and separate from the University's books.

The impending transfer of our books from their present cramped quarters emphasized with particular force the need of cataloguing the Society's Library; for without a catalogue it is practically impossible to administer properly or use conveniently a large collection of books such as our library now holds. However, with the chronic deficit in our treasury, such a plan would have remained a pious wish had it not been for the most generous offer of Miss Margaret D. Whitney to undertake the cataloguing of the Society's library without compensation and as a labor of love. Miss Whitney, who is a trained librarian, undertook the work with characteristic energy and I hope to be able to report at

the next meeting that the greater part of the Society's library has been competently catalogued. A new and heavy indebtedness will thus be added to the many and important obligations which our Society, since its inception, owes to the name of William Dwight Whitney. The thanks of the Society are due to John C. Schwab, Esq., Librarian of the Yale University Library, for many favors and valued assistance, and to Henry Gruener, Esq., of the Yale University Library, who, as in previous years, has rendered much assistance to the Librarian.

Respectfully submitted,

HANN S OERTEL,

Librarian.

April 16, 1906.

On motion of Professor Bloomfield the Society expressed its thanks to Miss Margaret Whitney for her services in preparing a catalogue of the library.

The report of the Editors of the Journal, Professors Hopkins and Torrey, was presented by Professor Torrey, and is as follows:

REPORT OF THE EDITORS.

The twenty-sixth volume of the Journal was issued in two parts, the First Half appearing in August, 1905. and the Second Half in March, 1906. The volume contained 468 pages in all; or 416 pages exclusive of the Proceedings, List of Additions to the Library (covering the period April 1898-April 1905), List of Members, and Notices.

The late appearance of the Second Half of this volume was due chiefly to a printers' strike, which continued for a long time and reduced our publishers to straits. It is likely that the effect of this same strike will be felt in the publication of vol. xxvii; but probably the delay will not be great.

The following persons, recommended by the Directors, were elected members of the Society:

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Professor Ferdinand Justi.

Professor Ignaz Goldziher.

CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Harold Herman Bender.

Francis Branch Blodgett.

C. A. B. Brockwell.

Wallace B. Fleming.

William L. De Vries.

Edward Atwood Henry.

Florence Alden Gragg.

Charles Ellsworth Horne.

Paul Vincent Harper.

Robert J. Lau.

Franklin W. Hooper.

Alonzo A. Madsen.

Nicholas A. Koenig.

Martin A. Meyer.

Isaac G. Matthews.

Hans K. Moussa.

Rowland H. Mode.

James B. Nies.

William Muss-Arnolt.

Samuel G. Oliphant.

Charles J. Ogden.

Johann F. Scheltema.

Benjamin W. Robinson.

Gilbert Campbell Scoggin.

Mrs. Edward E. Salisbury.

John M. P. Smith.

O. A. Toffteen.

Eben F. Thompson.

MEMBERS OF THE SECTION FOR THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF
RELIGIONS.

Rev. W. A. Shedd.

Rev. G. E. White.

The committee appointed at Springfield to nominate officers (Messrs. Moore, Jackson, and Jastrow: see *Journal*, vol. xxvi, p. 425) reported through its chairman, Professor Moore, as follows:

At the last meeting of the Society, Mr. Gilman, who has filled the office of President most acceptably since 1893, having expressed his desire that he should not be asked to serve after this year, a committee was appointed to nominate officers at the present meeting, with the understanding that the election would be held at the first session, so that the President should take his seat at the meeting at which he was elected; and it was voted "that in future the President be requested to prepare an address on some phase of the progress or significance of Oriental studies to be read at the annual meeting." This Society has been peculiarly fortunate in its Presidents, and it has been accustomed to re-elect them from year to year so long as they were willing to serve it. In most of the other American learned societies the presidency is an honor which is annually conferred upon some distinguished scholar, and it was plainly in the mind of the Society in the plan which it adopted at Springfield that it should in future be so among us also. It is not proposed that any new rule be made, but merely that the usage hitherto prevailing shall not be regarded as having the force of prescription.

The committee nominated the following officers, who were unanimously elected:

President—Professor Crawford Howell Toy, of Cambridge, Mass.

Vice-Presidents—Dr. William Hayes Ward, of New York; Professor Charles R. Lanman, of Cambridge; Professor Maurice Bloomfield, of Baltimore.

Corresponding Secretary—Professor E. Washburn Hopkins, of New Haven.

Recording Secretary—Professor George F. Moore, of Cambridge.

Secretary of the Section for Religions—Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., of Philadelphia.

Treasurer—Professor Frederick Wells Williams, of New Haven.

Librarian—Professor Hanns Oertel, of New Haven.

Directors—The officers above named; and President Daniel Coit Gilman, of Washington; Professor Robert F. Harper, of Chicago; Professors Richard Gottheil and A. V. Williams Jackson, of New York; Professor Paul Haupt, of Baltimore; Professor Henry Hyvernatt, of Washington; Professor Charles C. Torrey, of New Haven.

Professors G. F. Moore, A. V. W. Jackson, and M. Jastrow, Jr. were appointed a committee to nominate officers at the next annual meeting.

At twelve o'clock President Gilman delivered his address, on "Recent Contributions by Americans to the Knowledge of the Orient."

The second session of the Society began at half-past two o'clock, with President C. H. Toy in the chair, and proceeded to the reading of papers. The following communications were presented:

Dr. F. R. Blake, of Johns Hopkins University, Contributions to comparative Philippine grammar.

Dr. J. C. Ferguson, of Shanghai, China, The abolition of competitive examinations in China.

Professor Gottheil, of Columbia University, Muhammad Abdu, late Mufti of Egypt.—Remarks were made by Professor W. M. Müller.

Dr. L. H. Gray, of Newark, N. J., The *Dūtāṅgada* of Subhāṭa, now first translated from the Sanskrit and Prākṛit.

Mr. G. C. O. Haas, of Columbia University, Dhanika's commentary on the *Daśarūpa*.—Remarks were made by Professor Lanman.

Professor Hopkins, of Yale University, On the Buddhist rule against eating meat.—Remarks were made by Professors Bloomfield, Lanman, and Toy.

Professor Bolling, of the Catholic University of America, A plan for an edition of the *Atharva Veda Paṛiśiṣṭas*.—Remarks were made by Professor Bloomfield.

Professor Jackson, of Columbia University, Indo-Iranian notes (read by title); The Zoroastrians of Yezd.

Professor Jastrow, of the University of Pennsylvania, Did the Babylonian temples have libraries?—Remarks were made by Professors W. M. Müller, Barton, and Gottheil.

Professor Jewett, of the University of Chicago, Announcement of a new series of Arabic texts.

At a quarter past five the Society adjourned to half past nine Wednesday morning.

The Society met on Wednesday morning at half past nine o'clock, with President Toy in the chair. Professor Toy expressed his appreciation of the honor the Society had done in electing him to the Presidency; in following a line of eminent predecessors he should rely on the co-operation of the members of the Society to maintain its high standard of efficiency.

The reading of papers was resumed. The following communications were presented:

Professor Lanman, of Harvard University, Twin consonants at the junction of two consecutive words.—Remarks were made by Professors Jewett, Jastrow, and Bolling, and Dr. Ward.

Professor Moore, of Harvard University, On a leather garment from an Egyptian tomb, now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, which has been described as an "ephod."—Remarks were made by Professor W. M. Müller and Dr. Ward.

Professor Bloomfield, of Johns Hopkins University, Some emendations of Vedic texts.—Remarks were made by Professor Lanman.

Dr. Lucia C. G. Grieve, of New York, Demonstration of a Brahman woman's daily worship in the house.

Miss Margaretta Morris, of Philadelphia, Race and custom in the Malay archipelago.—Remarks were made by Professor Jastrow.

Mr. J. H. Moore, of Columbia University, Onomatopoeic words in Sanskrit.—Remarks were made by Professor Bloomfield.

Professor Fay, of the University of Texas, Studies of Sanskrit words (presented by Professor Bloomfield).

Professor W. M. Müller, of Philadelphia, The goddess of the Carthaginians.—Remarks were made by Professors Gottheil, Torrey, Jastrow, and Moore.

Professor Torrey, of Yale University, The last sentence of the Tabnit tomb inscription.—Remarks were made by Professors Gottheil and Arnold.

Professor Haupt, of Johns Hopkins University, Semitic verbs derived from particles; The etymology of Hebrew *mōhēl*, "circumciser;" The Talmudic passage, Succah 45*b*, and Psalm cxviii. 27; Some Indo-European etymologies (read in abstract by Dr. Blake).

Dr. Lau, of Columbia University, 'ābēl in the Bible; A supplement to the Old Babylonian vocabulary (read by title).

At half past twelve the Society took a recess till half past two.

The Corresponding Secretary reported for the Directors that the next annual meeting will be held in Philadelphia, Penn., beginning on April 4, 1907. A committee of arrangements was appointed, consisting of Dr. Talcott Williams, Professor Jastrow, and Professor Müller.

The Directors further reported that they had appointed Professor E. Washburn Hopkins and Professor Charles C. Torrey Editors of the Journal for the ensuing year.

On motion of Professor Hopkins the following resolution was unanimously adopted by a rising vote:

The members of the American Oriental Society desire to express to their retiring President, Dr. Daniel C. Gilman, their appreciation of the services rendered during the thirteen years of his Presidency, and to record herewith their heartiest thanks for the zeal and devotion he has always shown to the interests of this Society.

The following communications were presented:

Professor Jastrow, of the University of Pennsylvania, The story of Tabi-Utul-Bel.

Professor Lyon, of Harvard University, Abbreviated legal expressions in early Babylonian contracts; Seal impressions on early Babylonian contracts.—Remarks were made by Messrs. Jastrow, Arnold, Gottheil, and Allen.

Professor Gottheil, of Columbia University, A distinguished family of Fatimide Cadis (al-Nu'mān) in the tenth century.

Professor Lyon, of Harvard University, The date of the Babylonian king Immeru.—Remarks were made by Messrs. Allen and Jastrow.

Professor Toy, of Harvard University, The decay of totemism.—Remarks were made by Professor Hopkins.

Dr. F. R. Blake, of Johns Hopkins University, Comparative syntax of the noun and its modifiers in Semitic; The expression of case by the verb in Tagalog (read by title and abstract).

The following resolution of thanks was unanimously adopted:

The American Oriental Society desires to express its thanks to Yale University for the use of the Library of the Classical Club as a meeting place; to the Graduates' Club for the privileges of its Club house; to the resident members of the Society and the ladies for their hospitality; and to the Committee for the arrangements, which have contributed much to the success of the meeting and the pleasure of those in attendance.

At five o'clock the Society adjourned, to meet in Philadelphia, Penn., April 4th, 1907.

The following communications were read by title:

Mr. Aaron Ember, Modern additions to the Hebrew language; A new Modern Hebrew-English and English-Hebrew dictionary.

—Dr. T. C. Foote, The metrical form of the Songs of Degrees,

—Mr. L. B. Wolfenson, The Pi'el in Hebrew; The infixes *la*, *li*, and *lo* in Tagalog.—Professor Christopher Johnston, Egyptian chronology.—Professor D. G. Lyon, Female votaries in the days of Hammurabi.—Professor Oertel, Contributions from the Jāiminiya Brāhmaṇa, sixth series; A Greek inclusive (elliptical) plural and a Sanskrit inclusive singular.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

REVISED, DECEMBER, 1906.

The number placed after the address indicates the year of election.

I. HONORARY MEMBERS.

- M. AUGUSTE BARTH, Membre de l'Institut, Paris, France. (Rue Garancière, 10.) 1898.
- Dr. RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, C.I.E., Dekkan Coll., Poona, India. 1887.
- JAMES BURGESS, LL.D., 22 Seton Place, Edinburgh, Scotland. 1899.
- Dr. ANTONIO MARIA CERIANI, Ambrosian Library, Milan, Italy. 1890.
- Prof. BERTHOLD DELBRUECK, University of Jena, Germany. 1878.
- Prof. FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, University of Berlin, Germany. 1893.
- Prof. ADOLPH ERMAN, Steglitz, Friedrich Str. 10/11, Berlin, Germany. 1903.
- Prof. RICHARD GARBE, University of Tübingen, Germany. (Biesinger Str. 14.) 1902.
- Prof. KARL F. GELDNER, University of Berlin, Germany. (Luebecker Str. 40, N. W.) 1905.
- Prof. M. J. DE GOEJE, University of Leyden, Netherlands. (Vliet 15.) 1898.
- GEORGE A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., D.Litt., I.C.S. (retired), Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey, England. Corporate Member, 1899; Hon., 1905.
- Prof. IGNAZ GOLDZIEHER, vii Holló-Utcza 4. Budapest, Hungary.
- Prof. IGNAZIO GUIDI, University of Rome, Italy. (Via Botteghe Oscure, 24.) 1893.
- Prof. FERDINAND JUSTI, Marburg, Germany.
- Prof. HENDRIK KERN, University of Leyden, Netherlands. 1893.
- Prof. FRANZ KIELHORN, University of Göttingen, Germany. (Hainholzweg, 21.) 1887.
- Prof. ALFRED LUDWIG, University of Prague, Bohemia. (Königliche Weinbirge, Kramerius-gasse 40.) 1898.
- Prof. GASTON MASPERO, Collège de France, Paris, France. (Avenue de l'Observatoire, 24.) 1898.
- Prof. THEODOR NOELDEKE, University of Strassburg, Germany. (Kalbsgasse 16.) 1878.
- Prof. RICHARD PISCHEL, University of Berlin, Germany. (Halensee, Joachim Friedrichstrasse 47.) 1902.
- Prof. EDUARD SACHAU, University of Berlin, Germany. (Wormser Str. 12, W.) 1887.
- Prof. ARCHIBALD H. SAYCE, University of Oxford, England. 1893.
- Prof. EBERHARD SCHRADER, University of Berlin, Germany. (Kronprinzen-Ufer 20, N. W.) 1890.

Prof. JULIUS WELLHAUSEN, University of Göttingen, Germany. (Weber Str. 18a.) 1902.

Prof. ERNST WINDISCH, University of Leipzig, Germany. (Universitäts Str. 15.) 1890. [Total, 25.]

II. CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Names marked with † are those of life members.

Rev. Dr. JUSTIN EDWARDS ABBOTT, Tardeo, Bombay, India. 1900.

Dr. CYRUS ADLER, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1884.

F. STURGES ALLEN, 246 Central St., Springfield, Mass. 1904.

Miss MAY ALICE ALLEN, 397 Elm St., New Haven, Conn. 1906.

Prof. EDWARD V. ARNOLD, University College of North Wales, Bangor, Great Britain, 1896.

Mrs. EMMA J. ARNOLD, 275 Washington St., Providence, R. I. 1894.

Prof. WILLIAM R. ARNOLD, Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. 1893.

Dr. KANICHI ASAKAWA, Publishing Dept., Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan. 1904.

Rev. EDWARD E. ATKINSON, City Hall, Taunton, Mass. 1894.

Hon. SIMKON E. BALDWIN, LL.D., 44 Wall St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.

LEROY CARR BARRET, Box 86, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1903.

Prof. GEORGE A. BARTON, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1888.

Prof. L. W. BATTEN, 232 East 11th St., New York. 1894.

Prof. HARLAN P. BEACH, Yale University, 79 Howe St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.

Prof. WILLIS J. BEECHER, D.D., Theological Seminary, Auburn, N. Y. 1900.

HAROLD H. BENDER, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1906.

Rev. JOSEPH F. BERG, Port Richmond, S. I., N. Y. 1893.

Dr. WILLIAM STURGIS BIGELOW, 60 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.

Prof. JOHN BINNEY, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1887.

Dr. FRANK RINGGOLD BLAKE (Johns Hopkins Univ.), Dixon Park, Mt. Washington, Md. 1900.

Rev. DAVID BLAUSTEIN, Educational Alliance, 197 East Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1891.

FREDERICK J. BLISS, Clifton Springs, New York.

FRANCIS B. BLODGETT, General Theological Seminary, Chelsea Square, N. Y. 1906.

Prof. CARL AUGUST BLOMGREN, Augustana College and Theol. Seminary, Rock Island, Ill. 1900.

Prof. MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1881.

Prof. CHARLES W. E. BODY (General Theological Seminary), 9 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1897.

Dr. ALFRED BOISSIER, Le Rivage près Chambésy, Switzerland. 1897.

- Dr. GEORGE M. BOLLING, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D. C. 1896.
- Prof. JAMES HENRY BREASTED, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1891.
- Prof. CHAS. A. BRIGGS (Union Theological Seminary), 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1879.
- Prof. C. A. B. BROCKWELL, Univ. of Kings College, Windsor, Nova Scotia, Canada. 1906.
- Dr. PAUL BRÖNNLE, 73 Burdett Ave., Westcliff-on-Sea, England. 1903.
- Prof. FRANCIS BROWN (Union Theological Seminary), 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1881.
- Prof. CARL DARLING BUCK, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1892.
- Rev. JOHN CAMPBELL, Kingsbridge, New York, N. Y. 1896.
- Rev. SIMEON J. CARR, 1527 Church St., Frankford, Philadelphia, Pa. 1892.
- Pres. FRANKLIN CARTER, care Hon. F. J. Kingsbury, Waterbury, Conn. 1873.
- Dr. PAUL CARUS, La Salle, Illinois. 1897.
- Dr. I. M. CASANOWICZ, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1893.
- Miss EVA CHANNING, Hemenway Chambers, Boston, Mass. 1883.
- Dr. FRANK DYER CHESTER, United States Consulate, Buda-Pesth, Hungary. 1891.
- Rev. HENRY N. COBB, 25 East 22d St., New York, N. Y. 1875.
- †GEORGE WETMORE COLLES, 62 Fort Greene Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1882.
- Prof. HERMANN COLLITZ, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1887.
- Miss ELIZABETH S. COLTON, Easthampton, Mass. 1896.
- C. EVERETT CONANT, Translator-Interpreter Executive Bureau, Manila, P. I. 1905.
- WILLIAM MERRIAM CRANE, 16 East 37th St., New York, N. Y. 1902.
- OSCAR T. CROSBY, Cosmos Club, Washington, D. C. 1904.
- STEWART CULIN, Brooklyn Institute Museum, Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1888.
- Rev. CHARLES W. CURRIER, 941 F St., Washington, D. C. 1904.
- Prof. JOHN D. DAVIS, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
- LEE MALTBIE DEAN, Westbrook, Maine. 1897.
- Prof. ALFRED L. P. DENNIS, 5735 Washington Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1900.
- JAMES T. DENNIS, University Club, Baltimore, Md. 1900.
- Rev. WILLIAM L. DE VRIES, 301 A St. S. E., Washington, D. C. 1906.
- Rev. D. STUART DODGE, 99 John St., New York, N. Y. 1867.
- DAVID J. DOHERTY, M.D., P. O. Box 727, Manila, P. I. 1905.
- Dr. HARRY WESTBROOK DUNNING, 5 Kilsyth Road, Brookline, Mass. 1894.
- WILBERFORCE EAMES, Lenox Library, 890 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1897.
- Prof. FREDERICK C. EISELEN, Garrett Biblical Inst., Evanston, Ill. 1901.
- Mrs. WILLIAM M. ELLICOTT, 106 Ridgewood Road, Roland Park, Md. 1897.

- Prof. LEVI H. ELWELL, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1883.
AARON EMBER, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1902.
Rev. ARTHUR H. EWING, The Jumna Mission House, Allahabad, N. W. P., India. 1900.
Rev. Prof. C. P. FAGNANI, 772 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1901.
Prof. EDWIN WHITFIELD FAY (University of Texas), 200 West 24th St., Austin, Texas. 1888.
ERNEST F. FENOLLOSA, 159 Church St., Mobile, Ala. 1894.
Prof. HENRY FERGUSON, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1876.
Dr. JOHN C. FERGUSON, 110 Bubbling Well Road, Shanghai, China. 1900.
RALPH HALL FERRIS, 41 East 69th St., New York, N. Y. 1905.
CLARENCE STANLEY FISHER, Rutledge, Delaware Co., Pa. 1905.
†Lady CAROLINE DE FILIPPI FITZ GERALD, 167 Via Urbana, Rome, Italy. 1886.
Rev. WALLACE B. FLEMING, Maplewood, N. J. 1906.
Rev. THEODORE C. FOOTE, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1900.
†FRANK B. FORBES, 65 Marlborough St., Boston, Mass. 1864.
Rev. JAS. EVERETT FRAME (Union Theological Sem.), 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1892.
Prof. ISRAEL FRIEDLAENDER (Jewish Theological Seminary), 1549 St. Nicholas Ave., New York, N. Y. 1904.
Dr. WILLIAM H. FURNESS, 3d, Wallingford, Delaware Co., Penn. 1897.
Dr. FLETCHER GARDNER, Fort Michie, N. Y. 1905.
ROBERT GARRETT, Continental Building, Baltimore, Md. 1903.
Prof. BASIL LANNEAU GILDERSLEEVE, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1858.
Pres. DANIEL COIT GILMAN, 614 Park Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1857.
LOUIS GINZBERG, 60 West 115th St., New York, N. Y. 1900.
Prof. WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN (Harvard Univ.), 5 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1857.
Prof. RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL (Columbia Univ.), 2074 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1886.
Miss FLORENCE A. GRAGG, 26 Maple Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1906.
JACOB GRAPE, JR., Bond and Jefferson Sts., Baltimore, Md. 1888.
LOUIS H. GRAY, 354 Summer Ave., Newark, N. J. 1897.
Miss LUCIA C. GRAEME GRIEVE, 462 West 151st St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
Miss LOUISE H. R. GRIEVE, M.D., Satara, Bombay Presidency, India. 1898.
Dr. KARL JOSEF GRIMM, Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pa. 1897.
Prof. LOUIS GROSSMANN (Hebrew Union College), 2212 Park Ave., Cincinnati, O. 1890.
CHAS. F. GUNTHER, 212 State St., Chicago, Ill. 1889.
Rev. ADOLPH GUTTMACHER, 1833 Linden Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1896.
GEORGE C. O. HAAS, 64 East Seventh St., New York, N. Y. 1903.
Dr. CARL C. HANSEN, Lakawn Lampang, Laos, Siam (via Brindisi, Moulmain, and Raheng). 1902.

- PAUL V. HARPER, 59th St. and Lexington Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1906.
 Prof. ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1886.
 Prof. SAMUEL HART, D.D., Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn.
 Prof. PAUL HAUPT (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 2511 Madison Ave., Baltimore. 1883.
 Rev. EDWARD HAYES, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1904.
 Dr. HENRY HARRISON HAYNES, 6 Ellery St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
 EDWARD A. HENRY, 70 Middle Divinity, University of Chicago, Ill. 1906.
 Col. THOS. WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, 25 Buckingham St., Cambridge, Mass. 1869.
 Prof. HERMANN V. HILPRECHT (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 403 South 41st St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1887.
 Prof. FRIEDRICH HIRTH (Columbia Univ.), 501 West 113th St., New York, N. Y. 1903.
 Prof. CHARLES T. HOCK (Theological Seminary), 220 Liberty St., Bloomfield, N. J. 1903.
 †Dr. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, 8 Northmoor Road, Oxford, England. 1893.
 Rev. HUGO W. HOFFMAN, 306 Rodney St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1899.
 Prof. FRANKLIN W. HOOPER, 502 Fulton St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1906.
 Prof. E. WASHBURN HOPKINS (Yale Univ.), 299 Lawrence St., New Haven, Conn. 1881.
 CHAS. E. HORNE, 5836 Drexel Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1906.
 Rev. THOMAS P. HUGHES, D.D., 585 Park Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1905.
 Rev. ROBERT E. HUME, Ahmednagar, India. 1900.
 Miss ANNIE K. HUMPHREY, 1114 14th St., Washington, D. C. 1873.
 HENRY MINOR HUXLEY, 31 William St., Worcester, Mass. 1902.
 Prof. HENRY HYVERNAT (Catholic Univ. of America), 3405 Twelfth St., N. E. (Brookland), Washington, D. C. 1889.
 Prof. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON (Columbia Univ.), 10 Highland Place, Yonkers, N. Y. 1885.
 JOHN DAY JACKSON, 86 Crown St., New Haven, Conn. 1905.
 Prof. MORRIS JASTROW, JR. (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 248 South 23d St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1886.
 Miss MARY JEFFERS, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1900.
 Rev. HENRY F. JENKS, P. O. Box 79, Canton Corner, Mass. 1874.
 Prof. JAMES RICHARD JEWETT, Quadrangle Club, Chicago, Ill. 1887.
 Prof. CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON (Johns Hopkins University), 21 West 20th St., Baltimore, Md. 1889.
 Prof. MAX KELLNER, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. 1886.
 Miss ELIZA H. KENDRICK, 45 Hunnewell Ave., Newton, Mass. 1896.
 Prof. CHARLES FOSTER KENT (Yale Univ.), 406 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn. 1890.
 Prof. GEORGE L. KITTEDGE (Harvard University), 9 Hilliard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
 NICHOLAS A. KOENIG, 80 West 12th St., New York, N. Y. 1906.
 Rev. GEORGE A. KOIUT, 781 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1894.
 STEPHEN HERBERT LANGDON, Grassistrasse 26, Leipzig, Germany. 1902.

- †Prof. CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN (Harvard Univ.), 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass. 1876.
- ROBERT JULIUS LAU, 650 Leonard St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1906.
- BERTHOLD LAUFER, American Museum of National History, 77th St., and Central Park West, New York, N. Y. 1900.
- †HENRY C. LEA, 2000 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1898.
- C. S. LEAVENWORTH, care of Brown, Shipley & Co., 123 Pall Mall, London, England. 1900.
- FREDERICK LENT, 177 Lawrence St., New Haven, Conn. 1906.
- Prof. CASPAR LEVIAS, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1892.
- ROBERT LILLEY, Grafton, Mass. 1894.
- Prof. THOMAS B. LINDSAY, Boston Univ., Boston, Mass. 1883.
- Prof. CHARLES E. LITTLE (Vanderbilt Univ.), 308 Gowday St., Nashville, Tenn. 1901.
- Prof. ENNO LITTMAN, University, Strassburg, i/E., Germany. 1902.
- Rev. JACOB W. LOCH, 89 Schermerhorn St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1899.
- PERCIVAL LOWELL, care of Putnam & Putnam, 50 State St., Boston, Mass. 1893.
- †BENJAMIN SMITH LYMAN, 708 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1871.
- Prof. DAVID GORDON LYON, Harvard Univ. Semitic Museum, Cambridge, Mass. 1882.
- ALBERT MORTON LYTHGOE, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1899.
- Mrs. MATILDA R. McCONNELL, 112 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1890.
- Prof. DUNCAN B. MACDONALD, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1893.
- Rev. CHARLES S. MACFARLAND, 37 Bayview Ave., South Norwalk, Conn. 1898.
- Lieut. WILLIAM E. W. MACKINLAY, 1st U. S. Cavalry, Lemon Building, 1729 New York Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1904.
- ALBERT A. MADSEN, Durham, Conn. 1906.
- Prof. HERBERT W. MAGOUN, 70 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass.
- Prof. MAX L. MARGOLIS, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1890.
- Prof. ALLAN MARQUAND, Princeton Univ., Princeton, N. J. 1888.
- Prof. WINFRED ROBERT MARTIN, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1889.
- ISAAC G. MATTHEWS, McMaster Univ., Toronto, Canada. 1906.
- MARTIN A. MEYER, 22 St. Francis Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1906.
- TRUMAN MICHELSON, R.F.D. 48, Ridgefield, Conn. 1899.
- Mrs. HELEN L. MILLION (*née* LOVELL), Hardin College, Mexico, Missouri. 1892.
- Prof. LAWRENCE H. MILLS (Oxford University), 119 Ifley Road, Oxford, England. 1881.
- Prof. EDWIN KNOX MITCHELL (Hartford Theol. Sem.), 57 Gillette St., Hartford, Conn. 1898.
- ROLAND H. MODE, 144 South D, Univ. of Chicago, Ill. 1906.
- Prof. J. A. MONTGOMERY (P. E. Divinity School), 6806 Green St., Germantown, Pa. 1903.

- Prof. GEORGE F. MOORE (Harvard University), 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
- JUSTIN HARTLEY MOORE, 8 West 119th St., New York, N. Y. 1904.
- †Mrs. MARY H. MOORE, 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1902.
- PAUL ELMER MORE, 265 Springdale Ave., East Orange, N. J. 1893.
- Miss MARGARETTA MORRIS, 2106 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.
- Prof. EDWARD S. MORSE, Salem, Mass. 1894.
- Rev. HANS K. MOUSSA, Burlington, Wis. 1906.
- Rev. Dr. PHILIP S. MOXOM, 83 Dartmouth Terrace, Springfield, Mass. 1898.
- Prof. W. MAX MUELLER, 27 North Farson St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1905.
- Rev. Prof. A. J. ELDER MULLAN, S.J., Georgetown University, Washington, D. C. 1889.
- Mrs. ETHEL WATTS MUMFORD, 31 West 81st St., New York, N. Y. 1904.
- Dr. WILLIAM MUSS-ARNOLT, Belmont, Mass. 1906.
- Rev. JAS. B. NIES, Christ Church Rectory, Sharon, Conn. 1906.
- Prof. CHARLES ELIOT NORTON, Cambridge, Mass. 1857.
- Rt. Rev. Mgr. DENNIS T. O'CONNELL, D.D. (Catholic University), Washington, D. C. 1903.
- Prof. HANNS OERTEL (Yale Univ.), 2 Phelps Hall, New Haven, Conn. 1890.
- CHAS. J. OGDEN, 250 West 88th St., New York, N. Y. 1906.
- Miss ELLEN S. OGDEN, St. Agnes School, Albany, N. Y. 1898.
- SAMUEL G. OLIPHANT, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1906.
- Prof. PAUL OLTRAMARE (University of Geneva), Ave. de Bosquets, Servette, Genève, Switzerland. 1904.
- †ROBERT M. OLYPHANT, 160 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1861.
- JOHN ORNE, 104 Ellery St., Cambridge, Mass. 1890.
- Prof. GEORGE W. OSBORN, New York University, New York, N. Y. 1894.
- Rev. Dr. CHARLES RAY PALMER, 562 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1900.
- Prof. LEWIS B. PATON, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1894.
- Prof. WALTER M. PATTON, Baker Univ., Baldwin, Kansas. 1903.
- Dr. CHARLES PEABODY, 197 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
- Prof. ISMAR J. PERITZ, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1894.
- Prof. EDWARD DELAVAN PERRY (Columbia Univ.), 542 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1879.
- Rev. Dr. JOHN P. PETERS, 225 West 99th St., New York, N. Y. 1882.
- Prof. DAVID PHILIPSON, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O. 1889.
- WILLIAM POPPER, 260 West 93d St., New York, N. Y. 1897.
- Prof. IRA M. PRICE, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1887.
- Prof. JOHN DYNELEY PRINCE (Columbia Univ.), Sterlington, Rockland Co., N. Y. 1888.
- GEORGE PAYN QUACKENBOS, 331 West 28th St., New York, N. Y. 1904.
- Pres. F. P. RAMSAY (King College), Bristol, Tenn.
- HORACE M. RAMSEY, San Mateo, Cal. 1902.
- Dr. HERMANN RANKE, Royal Museum, Berlin, Germany. 1905.
- Dr. GEORGE ANDREW REISNER, The Pyramids, Cairo, Egypt. 1891.

- ERNEST C. RICHARDSON, Library of Princeton Univ., Princeton, N. J. 1900.
- J. NELSON ROBERTSON, 294 Avenue Road, Toronto, Ont. 1902.
- BENJ. W. ROBINSON, 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1906.
- EDWARD ROBINSON, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1894.
- Prof. GEORGE LIVINGSTON ROBINSON (McCormick Theol. Sem.), 10 Chalmers Place, Chicago, Ill. 1892.
- Hon. WILLIAM WOODVILLE ROCKHILL, Peking, China. 1880.
- Prof. ROBERT W. ROGERS, Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J. 1888.
- Prof. JAMES HARDY ROPES (Harvard University), 13 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.
- WILLIAM ROSENAU, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1897.
- Miss ADELAIDE RUDOLPH, 18 Wilbur St., Cleveland, O. 1894.
- Mrs. JANET E. RUUTZ-REES, 219 West 80th St., New York, N. Y. 1897.
- Miss CATHARINE B. RUNKLE, 15 Everett St., Cambridge, Mass. 1900.
- ARTHUR W. RYDER (University of California), 2243 Piedmont Way, Berkeley, Cal. 1902.
- Mrs. EDW. E. SALISBURY, 237 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1906.
- Rev. Dr. FRANK K. SANDERS, 22 Rockview St., Jamaica Plain, Mass. 1897.
- President S. SCHECHTER (Jewish Theological Seminary), 501 West 113th St., New York, N. Y. 1904.
- JOHANN F. SCHELTEMA, care of Messrs. Kerkhoven & Co., 115 Heeren-gracht, Amsterdam, Holland. 1906.
- H. ERNEST SCHMID, White Plains, N. Y. 1866.
- Prof. NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
- MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER, JR., Dept. of State, Washington, D. C. 1899.
- GILBERT C. SCOGGIN, Caruthersville, Mo. 1906.
- CHARLES P. G. SCOTT, 150 Woodworth Ave., Yonkers, N. Y. 1895.
- Rev. WILLIAM G. SEIPLE, 78 Higashi Sambancho, Sendai, Japan. 1902.
- J. HERBERT SENTER, 10 Avon St., Portland, Me. 1870.
- CHARLES C. SHERMAN, 65 Irving Place, New York, N. Y. 1904.
- †The Very Rev. JOHN R. SLATTERY, 261 Central Park West, New York, N. Y. 1903.
- Prof. HENRY PRESERVED SMITH, 419 W. 118th St., New York, N. Y. 1877.
- JOHN M. P. SMITH, Univ. of Chicago, Ill. 1906.
- WILLIAM WALLACE SPENCE, JR., Bolton, Baltimore, Md. 1900.
- EDWARD H. SPIEKER, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1884.
- Prof. HANS H. SPOER, Ph.D., Theological Seminary, Meadville, Pa. 1899.
- Rev. DAVID BRAINARD SPOONER, The Archaeological Survey, Peshawar, India. 1902.
- Prof. CHARLES C. STEARNS, 126 Garden St., Hartford, Conn. 1899.
- Rev. JAMES D. STEELE, 15 Grove Terrace, Passaic, N. J. 1892.
- Rev. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, JR., Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1900.
- Prof. EDWARD HENRY STROBEL, care Foreign Office, Bangkok, Siam. 1903.
- MAYER SULZBERGER, 1303 Girard Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.

- HENRY OSBORN TAYLOR, Century Association, 7 West 43d St., New York, N. Y. 1899.
- EBEN FRANCIS THOMPSON, 311 Main St., Worcester, Mass. 1906.
- Rev. Dr. J. J. TIERNEY, Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Md. 1901.
- Prof. HENRY A. TODD (Columbia University), 824 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1885.
- OLAF A. TOFFTEEN, 1113 Washington Building, Chicago, Ill.
- Prof. CHARLES C. TORREY (Yale University), 67 Mansfield St., New Haven, Conn. 1891.
- Prof. CRAWFORD H. TOY (Harvard University), 7 Lowell St., Cambridge, Mass. 1871.
- Rev. JOSEPH VINCENT TRACY, 20 Holton St., Allston, Boston, Mass. 1892.
- ADDISON VAN NAME (Yale Univ.), 121 High St., New Haven, Conn. 1863.
- THOMAS E. WAGGAMAN, 917 F St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1897.
- Miss SUSAN HAYES WARD, The Stone House, Abington Ave., Newark, N. J. 1874.
- Rev. Dr. WILLIAM HAYES WARD, 130 Fulton St., New York, N. Y. 1869.
- Miss CORNELIA WARREN, Cedar Hill, Waltham, Mass. 1894.
- Prof. WILLIAM F. WARREN (Boston Univ.), 131 Davis Ave., Brookline, Mass. 1877.
- Rev. W. SCOTT WATSON, West New York, New Jersey. 1893.
- Prof. J. E. WERREN, 17 Leonard Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1894.
- Prof. JENS IVERSON WESTENGARD (Harvard Univ.), Asst. Gen. Adviser to H.S.M. Govt., Bangkok, Siam. 1903.
- Pres. BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1885.
- Prof. JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE (Harvard Univ.), 18 Concord Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1877.
- Miss MARIA WHITNEY, 2 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1897.
- Mrs. WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY, 227 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1897.
- Rev. E. T. WILLIAMS, U. S. Legation, Peking, China. 1901.
- Prof. FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS (Yale Univ.), 135 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1895.
- TALCOTT WILLIAMS ("The Press"), 916 Pine St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1884.
- Rev. Dr. WILLIAM COPLEY WINSLOW, 525 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1885.
- Rev. STEPHEN S. WISE, 46 East 68th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
- HENRY B. WITTON, Inspector of Canals, 16 Murray St., Hamilton, Ontario. 1885.
- LOUIS B. WOLFENSON, 513 Laurens St., Baltimore, Md. 1904.
- WILLIAM W. WOOD, 2802 Parkwood Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1900.
- JAMES H. WOODS (Harvard Univ.), 2 Chestnut St., Boston, Mass. 1900.
- Prof. JOHN HENRY WRIGHT (Harvard Univ.), 38 Quincy St., Cambridge, Mass. 1898.
- Prof. THEODORE F. WRIGHT, 42 Quincy St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.

Rev. JAMES OWENS WRIGHTSON, 1031 Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 1903.

Rev. ABRAHAM YOHANNAN, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1894. 1894.

[Total, 273.]

III. MEMBERS OF THE SECTION FOR THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF RELIGIONS.

Prof. FELIX ADLER, Ph.D., 123 East 60th St., New York, N. Y. 1900.

Rev. Dr. SAMUEL H. BISHOP, 500 West 122d St., New York, N. Y. 1898.

Rev. JOHN L. CHANDLER, Auburndale, Mass. 1899.

SAMUEL DICKSON, 901 Clinton St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1899.

Prof. FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS (Columbia Univ.), 150 West 79th St., New York, N. Y. 1900.

Prof. ARTHUR L. GILLET, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1898.

CHARLES B. GULICK (Harvard University), 18 Walker St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.

Prof. LINDLEY M. KEASBEY, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. 1903.

Prof. GEORGE T. LADD (Yale Univ.), 204 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.

Prof. HINCKLEY G. MITCHELL, Ph.D., D.D. (Boston University), 72 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass. 1900.

WILLIAM W. NEWELL, 54 Garden St., Cambridge, Mass. 1898.

FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D. (Harvard Univ.), Longfellow Park, Cambridge, Mass. 1900.

Rev. Dr. MINOT J. SAVAGE, 34th St. and Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1898.

Rev. W. A. SHEDD, Am. Mission, Urumia, Persia (via Berlin and Tabriz). 1906.

Prof. EDWIN R. SELIGMAN (Columbia Univ.), 324 West 86th St., New York, N. Y. 1898.

Prof. LANGDON C. STEWARDSON, Lehigh University, South Bethlehem, Pa. 1901.

Prof. WILLIAM G. SUMNER (Yale Univ.), 240 Edwards St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.

Prof. CHARLES MELLEN TYLER, Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N. Y. 1904.

Prof. R. M. WENLEY, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1898.

Rev. G. E. WHITE, Anatolia College, Marsovan, Turkey [papers to German Consulate (White), Samsoun, Turkey.] 1906.

Prof. IRVING F. WOOD, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1905.

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Number of Members of all Classes, 319.

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ORIENTAL SOCIETY ARE SENT BY WAY OF GIFT OR EXCHANGE.

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BOSTON, MASS.: American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

CHICAGO, ILL.: Field Museum of Natural History.

NEW YORK: American Geographical Society.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.: American Philosophical Society.

Free Museum of Science and Art, Univ. of Penna.

WASHINGTON, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Bureau of American Ethnology.

WORCESTER, MASS.: American Antiquarian Society.

II. EUROPE.

AUSTRIA, VIENNA: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Anthropologische Gesellschaft.

PRAGUE: Königlich Böhmisches Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.

DENMARK, ICELAND, REYKJAVIK: University Library.

FRANCE, PARIS: Société Asiatique. (Rue de Seine, Palais de l'Institut.)

Bibliothèque Nationale.

Musée Guimet. (Avenue du Trocadéro.)

Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.

École des Langues Orientales Vivantes. (Rue de Lille, 2.)

GERMANY, BERLIN: Königlich Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Königliche Bibliothek.

Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen. (Am Zeughauser 1.)

GÖTTINGEN: Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.

HALLE: Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. (Friedrichstr. 50.)

LEIPZIG: Königlich Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.

Leipziger Semitistische Studien. (J. C. Hinrichs.)

MUNICH: Königlich Bairische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Königliche Hof- und Staatsbibliothek.

TÜBINGEN: Library of the University.

GREAT BRITAIN, LONDON: Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. (22 Albemarle St., W.)

Library of the India Office. (Whitehall, SW.)

Society of Biblical Archaeology. (37 Great Russell St., Bloomsbury, W.C.)

Philological Society. (Care of Dr. F. J. Furnival, 3 St. George's Square, Primrose Hill, NW.)

ITALY, FLORENCE: Società Asiatica Italiana.

ROME: Reale Accademia dei Lincei.

NETHERLANDS, AMSTERDAM: Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen.

THE HAGUE: Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië.

LEYDEN: Curatorium of the University.

RUSSIA, HELSINGFORS: Société Finno-Ougrienne.

ST. PETERSBURG: Imperatorskaja Akademija Nauk.

Archeologičeskij Institut.

SWEDEN, UPSALA: Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet.

Le Monde Oriental (cf. Professor K. F. Johansson, Upsala).

III. ASIA.

CALCUTTA, GOV'T OF INDIA: Home Department.

CEYLON, COLOMBO: Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

CHINA, SHANGHAI: China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

TONKIN: l'École Française d'extrême Orient (Rue de Coton),
Hanoi.

INDIA, BOMBAY: Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The Anthropological Society. (Town Hall.)

CALCUTTA: The Asiatic Society of Bengal. (57 Park St.)

The Buddhist Text Society. (86 Jaun Bazar St.)

LAHORE: Library of the Oriental College.

SIMLA: Office of the Director General of Archaeology. (Ben-
more, Simla, Punjab.)

JAPAN, TOKYO: The Asiatic Society of Japan.

JAVA, BATAVIA: Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.

KOREA: Branch of Royal Asiatic Society, Seoul, Korea.

NEW ZEALAND: The Polynesian Society, New Plymouth.

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS: The Ethnological Survey, Manila.

SYRIA: The American School (care U. S. Consul, Jerusalem).

Revue Biblique, care of M. J. Lagrange, Jerusalem.

Al-Machriq, The Catholic Press, Beirut, Syria.

IV. AFRICA.

EGYPT, CAIRO: The Khedivial Library.

V. EDITORS OF THE FOLLOWING PERIODICALS.

The Indian Antiquary (Education Society's Press, Bombay, India).

Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (care of Alfred
Hölder, Rothenthurm-str. 15, Vienna, Austria).

Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung (care of Prof. E. Kuhn, 3
Hess Str., Munich, Bavaria).

Revue de l'Histoire des Religions (care of M. Jean Réville, chez M. E.
Leroux, 28 rue Bonaparte, Paris, France).

Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (care of Prof. Bern-
hard Stade, Giessen, Germany).

Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft. (J. C.
Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, Germany.)

Oriental Bibliography (care of Prof. Lucian Scherman, 18 Ungerer Str.,
Munich, Bavaria).

The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal, 438 East 57th St.,
Chicago, Ill.

American Journal of Archaeology, 65 Sparks St., Cambridge, Mass.

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CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS
OF THE
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

With Amendments of April, 1897.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I. This Society shall be called the AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE II. The objects contemplated by this Society shall be:—

1. The cultivation of learning in the Asiatic, African, and Polynesian languages, as well as the encouragement of researches of any sort by which the knowledge of the East may be promoted.

2. The cultivation of a taste for oriental studies in this country.

3. The publication of memoirs, translations, vocabularies, and other communications, presented to the Society, which may be valuable with reference to the before-mentioned objects.

4. The collection of a library and cabinet.

ARTICLE III. The members of this Society shall be distinguished as corporate and honorary.

ARTICLE IV. All candidates for membership must be proposed by the Directors, at some stated meeting of the Society, and no person shall be elected a member of either class without receiving the votes of as many as three-fourths of all the members present at the meeting.

ARTICLE V. The government of the Society shall consist of a President, three Vice Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Secretary of the Section for the Historical Study of Religions, a Treasurer, a Librarian, and seven Directors, who shall be annually elected by ballot, at the annual meeting.

ARTICLE VI. The President and Vice Presidents shall perform the customary duties of such officers, and shall be *ex-officio* members of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VII. The Secretaries, Treasurer, and Librarian shall be *ex-officio* members of the Board of Directors, and shall perform their respective duties under the superintendence of said Board.

ARTICLE VIII. It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors to regulate the financial concerns of the Society, to superintend its publications, to carry into effect the resolutions and orders of the Society, and to exercise a general supervision over its affairs. Five Directors at any regular meeting shall be a quorum for doing business.

ARTICLE IX. An Annual meeting of the Society shall be held during Easter week, the days and place of the meeting to be determined by the Directors, said meeting to be held in Massachusetts at least once in three

years. One or more other meetings, at the discretion of the Directors, may also be held each year at such place and time as the Directors shall determine.

ARTICLE X. There shall be a special Section of the Society, devoted to the historical study of religions, to which section others than members of the American Oriental Society may be elected in the same manner as is prescribed in Article IV.

ARTICLE XI. This Constitution may be amended, on a recommendation of the Directors, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at an annual meeting.

BY-LAWS.

I. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society, and it shall be his duty to keep, in a book provided for the purpose, a copy of his letters; and he shall notify the meetings in such manner as the President or the Board of Directors shall direct.

II. The Recording Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Society in a book provided for the purpose.

III. *a.* The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds of the Society; and his investments, deposits, and payments shall be made under the superintendence of the Board of Directors. At each annual meeting he shall report the state of the finances, with a brief summary of the receipts and payments of the previous year.

III. *b.* After December 31, 1896, the fiscal year of the Society shall correspond with the calendar year.

III. *c.* At each annual business meeting in Easter week, the President shall appoint an auditing committee of two men—preferably men residing in or near the town where the Treasurer lives—to examine the Treasurer's accounts and vouchers, and to inspect the evidences of the Society's property, and to see that the funds called for by his balances are in his hands. The Committee shall perform this duty as soon as possible after the New Year's day succeeding their appointment, and shall report their findings to the Society at the next annual business meeting thereafter. If these findings are satisfactory, the Treasurer shall receive his acquittance by a certificate to that effect, which shall be recorded in the Treasurer's book, and published in the Proceedings.

IV. The Librarian shall keep a catalogue of all books belonging to the Society, with the names of the donors, if they are presented, and shall at each annual meeting make a report of the accessions to the library during the previous year, and shall be farther guided in the discharge of his duties by such rules as the Directors shall prescribe.

V. All papers read before the Society, and all manuscripts deposited by authors for publication, or for other purposes, shall be at the disposal of the Board of Directors, unless notice to the contrary is given to the Editors at the time of presentation.

VI. Each corporate member shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of five dollars; but a donation at any one time of seventy-five dollars shall exempt from obligation to make this payment.

VII. Corporate and Honorary members shall be entitled to a copy of all the publications of the Society issued during their membership, and shall also have the privilege of taking a copy of those previously published, so far as the Society can supply them, at half the ordinary selling price.

VIII. Candidates for membership who have been elected by the Society shall qualify as members by payment of the first annual assessment within one month from the time when notice of such election is mailed to them. A failure so to qualify shall be construed as a refusal to become a member. If any corporate member shall for two years fail to pay his assessments, his name may, at the discretion of the Directors, be dropped from the list of members of the Society.

IX. Members of the Section for the Historical Study of Religions shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of two dollars; and they shall be entitled to a copy of all printed papers which fall within the scope of the Section.

X. Six members shall form a quorum for doing business, and three to adjourn.

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